

HEALTH AND ILLNESS AMONG THE MONGGHUL

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ABSTRACT

Personal accounts of health, illness, and healing among the Mongghul of Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Autonomous County, Haidong Municipality, Qinghai Province are given. These are followed by an examination of the causes of illness, medical practitioners, disease names and treatments, anatomical terms in the Mongghul language, preventative measures, narratives of the experiences of a Huzhu Mongghul doctor in Xining (capital of Qinghai Province), and a brief description of contemporary healthcare infrastructure in Huzhu County.

KEYWORDS

Huzhu, illness and healing, medical anthropology, Mongghul, Monguor, Qinghai

INTRODUCTION

In the traditional Huzhu Mongghul worldview, illness is unrelated to such modern biomedical concepts as bacteria and viruses. Instead, it is related to an ontology that posits that such entities as *pudog mudog* 'evils', *yiile* 'ghosts', *purghan* 'deities', and *foori aadee aanee* 'graveyard spirits' that can influence human well-being. Within this worldview, for example, a herpetic infection may be attributed to disturbances of an ancestral grave.

Personal accounts of health, illness, and healing among the Mongghul are given. These are followed by an examination of the causes of illness, medical practitioners, disease names and treatments, anatomical terms in the Mongghul language, preventative measures, narratives of the experiences of a Huzhu Mongghul doctor in Xining (capital of Qinghai Province), and a brief description of contemporary healthcare infrastructure in Huzhu County.

TWO ACCOUNTS

There are no written records of Mongghul medicine in Chinese or Tibetan.¹ Thus, in order to reflect on Mongghul traditional medicine, I present oral accounts from two different age sets.

Account One: Sanxiujii

I visited an elderly Mongghul woman, Sanxiujii (1914-2000) in Shdangja Village (Danma Town) on 25 July 1998. Her natal home was in nearby Liuja Village; she married into Shdangja Village at the age of fourteen. She gave this account:

¹ I surveyed Chinese literature, and information on Tibetan literature was provided by Saishidang Sang (b. 1953), a Mongghul Living Buddha from Tughuangang Village (Wushi Town) Huzhu County. He currently resides in Rgulang Monastery in Huzhu County and is also a senior professor at the Traditional Tibetan Medicine Hospital in Xining.

Previously, people did not go to Wei yuan² or other places to receive medical treatment. When I was in my teens, there was a doctor in Danma Village (Danma Township) but no medicine. There were very few Han people in the area then. Death was frequent in the village and children suffered an especially high mortality rate. Thinking about my childhood, I believe there were many diseases that we considered strange at that time, but which are now better understood.

A common disease called *sarishiba* occurred suddenly and without warning. The sufferer first had a high fever and a headache, and soon afterward they went mad. Some people recovered from *sarishiba* after several days, but most died from it. *Sarishiba* no longer occurs. I suffered from *sarishiba* in my twenties. I got a high fever, could eat only a little, frequently fell unconscious, felt constantly tired, and had a constant, unbearable headache. I was one of the lucky ones who survived.

My mother died in her twenties from an unknown disease that manifested as intense bodily pain. My father died from food poisoning at the age of thirty-five. Back then, most people died at such early ages. Many of my peers died in their twenties – I was lucky to survive. Many babies died soon after birth, and no one knew why. My husband died in his thirties due to an infected sore in his groin. My life became very difficult after I became a widow. My only son died of a painful stomach illness shortly after the death of my husband. The double blow dealt by the two deaths made me nearly lose my will to live. I then took up smoking, at a time when a woman smoker was almost unheard of in Mongghul society.

People were very poor when I was young. They had little food and wore only *huguazi* and *laxjang*³ year-round. These wool robes often scratched the skin, causing bleeding. People often died when these wounds became infected, for example, one of my relatives died the year after her marriage from an infected wound caused by her rough wool robe. Her body gradually grew weaker and she died one night after suffering violent convulsions.

Life today is much happier than in my childhood. People can eat and wear whatever they like. In the old days, a number of families were too poor to buy feed for livestock. Some people mixed powdered stone⁴ with boiled water and swallowed it to treat bellyaches.

When I was in my forties⁵ a contagious disease called *qijog*⁶ became widespread in Mongghul areas. Many people, mostly children, died within a short time. The first symptom was that the eyes became red and, soon after, a painful red rash covered the body. The infection lasted a week, during which time strangers were usually forbidden from visiting the home. Meanwhile, people in the home maintained total silence. The child was treated by a *purghan*. Most people infected with *qijog* died.

In about 1978, two children died one after the other in Shdangja Village from *qijog*. In total, at least fifteen village children died that year in the village.

When I was in my fifties, some seriously ill patients began to go to Wei yuan for medical treatment.

There were many clinics in Huzhu by the time I was in my sixties. People got medicine from them and had operations, too. How did I live so long? I was one of the lucky ones among the hundreds of people in my home area, otherwise, I would have ended up like my husband, son, and parents, all of whom left the world at an early age.

² Wei yuan is the capital of Huzhu Mongghul Autonomous County.

³ Coarse robes of spun woolen thread; *huguazi* were black and worn by women, while *laxjang* were white and worn by men.

⁴ Mongghul: *xashiduu*. A white stone brought from the foot of Chilib Mountain, located on the boundary between Huzhu County and Menyuan Hui Autonomous County approximately ten kilometers away from the first author's natal village. The stone was burned, ground into a fine powder, and a spoonful taken daily. It caused belching. The efficacy of the powdered stone in treating stomach ailments may be due to its alkali nature.

⁵ 1950s-1960s.

⁶ *Qijog* 'flower' refers to smallpox or measles.

Account Two: Limusishiden

I was born on the thirtieth day of the eighth lunar month in 1968 into a Tughuan Village (Wushi Town) family. Until I was five or six, I lived in an extended family composed of my father's brothers and their wives, my father's unmarried younger sisters, my cousins, grandparents, brothers, sister, and my parents. This extended family eventually separated into three households. Father's elder brother's family and my immediate family both separated from the extended family to form new households. My father's younger brother remained in the old house with my grandparents.

It is said that my grandparents' house was built the year the ancestors of present-day Tughuan villagers moved from Wushi Town in order to herd livestock.⁷ Later, they did not return to Wushi, but settled permanently.

Mother recalled that when I was two years old, my family was so poor that I had no trousers to wear. My father's mother did not care for me very well when Mother was away working in the fields.⁸ Perhaps she hoped to toughen her grandchildren by allowing them to fend for themselves in the harsh environment. Mother once visited her parents-in-law when they were baby-sitting me, and found many infected sores and scratches on my legs and buttocks. Some of the wounds still had thorns, which Mother gently removed.

At the age of nine, I and other local students were injected with the *qijog* vaccine in the upper left arm. Father recalls that I had already had *qijog*, and had been close to death with a high fever that lasted about a week.

When I was a child, children went barefoot and wore no trousers – even in winter – until the age of seven or eight. At that age, parents felt that children could feel shame and should wear trousers and shoes. Groups of children played children's games in the village lanes between houses, on the threshing grounds, and in the fields. They particularly enjoyed playing on manure piles in front of house gates, so that roundworm, bacteria, and viruses in feces were easily transmitted to children.⁹ Roundworms in children's feces was common. Many children felt pain around their navel and became weak – symptoms of roundworm infection. If a child had an open wound of any sort, a little soil was put on the wound, regardless of possible tetanus infection.

Grandmother bore twelve children, six of whom died before the age of five. Mother bore seven children. Her first son died soon after he was born, with a yellowish discoloration of the body.¹⁰ Her fourth son died from diarrhea when he was about four years old and, in the same year, Father's older brother's wife had her first son in the extended family living in Grandfather's house. Unfortunately, the baby soon fell sick with a fever. Treatment involved administering *guangmu* soup¹¹ – made with the meat of *guangmu* caught in the forest and high mountains – and consulting the family *purghan*. Both treatments were unsuccessful and the infant died.

Grandfather often suffered from painful stomachaches, which he treated by ingesting *xashiduu* (see footnote four). The treatment was effective in treating the pain. I never saw him take any medicine other than this. Grandmother often suffered from headaches and dizziness. She died one afternoon in 1987 at the age of sixty-four after suddenly fainting. She probably died of a cerebral hemorrhage.

Mother's third son, Niidosirang, was born one night in 1974. At the age of four, his eyes became infected, he was in great pain, and he began to lose his sight. Father invited several knowledgeable monks to our home from Rgulang¹² Monastery to chant Buddhist scriptures to help relieve the problem. *Purghan* were also invited to the family home many times in order to expel

⁷ The number of graves in the ancestral graveyard and their arrangements suggest that Tughuan was first settled in the mid-seventeenth century.

⁸ It was and still is common for Mongghul grandparents to care for children when their parents are working in the fields and, in the early twenty-first century, when they leave the village to undertake migrant labor.

⁹ Every Mongghul family regularly moves manure from the pigsty and livestock pen and collects it in front of their front gates. The collected manure is used as fertilizer.

¹⁰ It was probably infant jaundice.

¹¹ *Guangmu* live in forests and on high mountains. It is the size of a pheasant, has a gray plume, eats the roots of wild herbs, and its meat has an herbaceous smell. Locals regard it as herbal medicine. Ill people eat the boiled meat and drink *guangmu kua* 'guangmu soup'.

¹² Rgulang – also rendered Dgon lung, Erh-ku-lung, Yu-ning, Youning Monastery.

ghosts – thought to be the cause of the disease – from our home and from my brother's body. However, the situation continued to worsen until my brother became effectively blind.

When his situation became critical, an elderly village woman came to my home and gave my parents a small white pellet, telling them to put it under my brother's eyelid. She explained that the pellet would restore my brother's sight if we also worshiped Shge Tingere 'Great Heaven' by burning incense and kowtowing to the four directions. The woman explained that the pellet had been given to her ten years earlier by a famous *lama* (Living Buddha)¹³ from Rgulang Monastery. My parents did as the woman advised, though they were skeptical. A week later, my brother could see again and was able to attend school when he was nine years old. His eye problem never recurred.

Mother gave birth to her fourth son in 1975. He became bedridden due to serious diarrhea when he was four years old. Father took him to a clinic after receiving permission from the family *purghan*. My brother was given injections for three days at the clinic, where he also took small white pills.¹⁴ However, his condition continued to worsen. My parents brought him back home and asked the family *purghan* to help. As his health continued to deteriorate, my parents became extremely anxious and decided to visit some famous lamas in Hgunbin Monastery.¹⁵ At the monastery, the child was treated with Traditional Tibetan Medicine and blessed by a Living Buddha. Unfortunately, he died on the way home.

In the summer of 1976, when I was about eight years old, my younger sister (aged five) and younger brother (aged three) suddenly fell ill and became bedridden. They had high fevers, ate and drank very little, and were weak and unable to speak. I knew from my parents' anxious expressions that they had contracted *qijog*. That year several other children in the village had contracted *qijog* and one or two had died. Our family gate was firmly barred from the inside and we all maintained total silence for several days. Father knew that they might recover if the rash left their bodies. My parents used a towel to wipe the sweat from my siblings' faces.

The atmosphere inside the house was very tense as the treatment continued. My older brother and I were only permitted to look at our brother and sister through a window. Father burned incense and kowtowed¹⁶ almost constantly, asking Shge Tingere to bestow blessings on his children. Our family *purghan* was frequently consulted and beseeched to expel the ghosts that we believed were causing the illness. After about two days the rashes began to disappear, the fever subsided, and it became easier for the children to breathe. My brother and sister recovered without taking medicine.

There is another incident that I will never forget. During the summer of 1977 it rained continuously for one month; many walls collapsed, roofs leaked, and crops were flattened in the field and rotted.¹⁷ One rainy afternoon, Mother was giving birth to her fifth son in the room where we slept. Father was outside the home earning money as a laborer. Because of Mother's contractions, we all went to bed together on the *bankang* as usual.¹⁸

¹³ Regular monks are referred to as *lamadii* in Mongghul, while reincarnate lamas (Tibetan *sprul sku*) are referred to as *lama* or *shge lama*.

¹⁴ At the time, Father did not know what the injections or the pills were.

¹⁵ This Dge lugs monastery is located approximately twenty kilometers south of Xining, the capital of Qinghai Province.

¹⁶ The Mongghul term is *tulighui murigu*. When performing *tulighui murigu*, the patient stands, stretches out their hands with palms together above their head, and then brings the hands down touching the forehead, lips, and chest, kneels with their palms on the ground, and touches their forehead to the ground three times. When the head is raised each time, the palms are also raised and then touched to the ground at the same time as the forehead.

¹⁷ The walls and roofs of traditional Mongghul houses are made from rammed earth that softens in heavy rain. Only a few wealthy families began putting tiles on their roof in the early twenty-first century.

¹⁸ An adobe platform built in the sleeping room was divided into two parts – the *yikang* and *bankang*. So that fuel may be added easily, the *bankang* had a large opening in the center of the platform, which was covered with planks of wood. The felt-covered *yikang* was built from adobe bricks and heated by flues that were fed fuel from a hole outside the room. Family males slept on the *yikang*, while women and infants slept on the *bankang* without any mattress. An infant's urine drained through cracks in the planks, and feces were easily scrapped off the non-absorbent surface. However, sleeping on a *bankang* was uncomfortable, because there was no cushion beneath the naked body, and smoke came from the fire below. Moreover, babies were burnt if they fell between the *bankang*'s planks.

Mother started screaming as her contractions became more painful. Although she knew she was about to give birth, she still did not want us to get help. Suddenly Mother shouted, "Get on the floor now! The wall is going to collapse!" And in the silence after her sudden scream, we all heard the wall next to us groaning.

We jumped down to the floor and a few seconds later, a wall of the room collapsed across the sleeping platform where we had just been, leaving a large hole in the wall. We were dumfounded, but quickly moved the rubble outside, swept the *bankang* and *yikang*, and covered the hole in the wall with a large piece of cloth.

We fearfully got back up on the sleeping platform. Soon afterwards, Mother gave birth to her fifth son, Danjansirang (b. 1977). She told us to bring scissors and thread, cut and tied the umbilical cord, and then I was sent to summon my aunt to come and cook hot soup to warm Mother's weakened body.

One cold winter's day I contracted a bad cold that lasted several days. My parents were unconcerned, because colds were common. I had a dry cough, which became so severe that my throat became swollen and I felt a heavy pain in my chest. Because I was coughing frequently at home, Mother became irritated and told me to run around the threshing ground several times to cure my cold. I followed her instructions, believing that it would help. However, my cold only worsened.

Apart from the *qigog* vaccination, I never took any medicine until I entered Huzhu Nationalities Middle School in Weiyuan in 1985 at the age of nineteen. A simple clinic was set up inside the school so that students could be treated for free. I visited the clinic once and was given painkillers for a headache.

CAUSES OF ILLNESS

Illnesses are caused by *pudog mudog* 'evils', *purghan*, moving soil, Zooya Aanee 'Kitchen Granny', and disturbances to ancestors in the graveyard. *Pudog mudog* is further divided into ghosts, *modaya*, *duduna*, and *zan*. Each is introduced below.

Purghan

Purghan are deities represented as an image seated in a sedan chair, or as a cloth-covered pole. The sedan is carried by four or eight men. Only one man is needed to hold the *purghan* if it is a pole. Permeating every aspect of Mongghul life, a *purghan* is always available for consultation and, for Mongghul, represents the possibility that the supplicant's distress may be alleviated (Limusishiden and Stuart 1994). In Huzhu, a *purghan* can be consulted at any time and for almost any purpose. For example, the *purghan* can be consulted in order to: find a suitable spouse; treat illness and banish evils; ensure well-being; guarantee a good harvest; and to alleviate droughts.

Purghan communicate with humans by moving. In the case of a sedan, it may move backwards or forwards when being carried, in response to a question with two alternatives. A pole *purghan* may move up (to indicate a positive response) or down (to indicate a negative response) in the hands of the man holding it, in order to indicate a yes/ no question. In one case I observed, a *purghan* possessed a human body and caused a man to speak.

Every Mongghul clan¹⁹ has its own *purghan* and each family has a *nelshigang* 'shrine room'.²⁰

¹⁹ *Dangjazi* 'clans' are typically named groups of agnatic kin of approximately ten households, who live near each other and assist each other on such occasions as weddings and funerals. Though commonly based on descent from a common ancestor, *dangjazi* may also be based on friendship or other non-kin relations in mixed ethnicity

Within some family compounds the *nelshigang* contains a *purghan*. In others, however, there is a picture of a Living Buddha and a few *rjalacan* 'pieces of red or yellow silk' hung from the wall in place of the *purghan*. Lamps are burned in the room as offerings.²¹

Death, birth, and menstruation are all considered sources of *pudog* 'pollution' for *purghan*. If someone returns from a room where a newborn and mother are confined,²² or from a home where funeral rites were recently performed, they must purify themselves with straw smoke. If they fail to do this and then enter the *nelshigang*, this pollutes the *purghan*, angering it, and causing it to lose power. Drying women's clothes or hanging up dirty clothes on the roof of the *nelshigang* also pollute and anger the *purghan*. *Purghan* may send various diseases to the guilty person or family when polluted.

Purghan Account One

A rich man living in Pudang Village (Danma Town) was a farmer until the age of thirty. He was selected by the local governmental to learn basic Chinese literacy and medicine in Weiyuan in about 1967. He graduated from the training class six months later and was assigned to a town clinic, where he became a doctor. His family home had enshrined a *purghan* for several generations but, when he became a government employee, he abandoned his religious beliefs and the *purghan* in his family home was moved to another house.

The man retired and returned home in 1995, by which time he had totally abandoned belief in *purghan*. Some time later, he fell ill and was unable to urinate. He took much medicine and visited hospitals in Xining, however, his condition did not improve. As a final resort, he went to the home where his clan's *purghan* was and asked the *purghan* for advice. The *purghan* indicated that it wanted to return to live on the second story of his family compound.²³ Furthermore, the rich man's grandfather had promised the *purghan* during a period of civil unrest that if the *purghan* protected the house from being burned down, then it could stay in the house forever. Recalling this story, he immediately agreed that the *purghan* could return. Afterwards, he offered incense once a day to the *purghan*. His condition soon improved, and he became an extremely devout Buddhist.²⁴

Purghan Account Two

Another man's family had a *purghan* for several generations. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976), they had utilized the *purghan* (which was in the form of a pole) as a rolling pin.²⁵ The man was meanwhile selected to study Chinese language in school. He eventually got a job as a teacher and abandoned his traditional beliefs and practices. He used his position to help his two sons get government jobs, and eventually the family became the richest in their village.

One winter afternoon in 1983, the man's wife fell from a three-meter-high terrace on the threshing ground where she was working. She lost consciousness and was immediately sent to hospital, where she was diagnosed with a cerebral hemorrhage, and became completely paralyzed – a total invalid. After spending two months in hospital, her husband took her home and cared for

villages.

²⁰ *Nelshi* is the Mongghul word for 'to offer'; *gang* is similar to the Tibetan *khang* 'room'.

²¹ Butter or rapeseed oil is burned in the lamp, though burning butter is preferred. Usually one or three lamps are burned.

²² Women are confined for a one-month period after giving birth.

²³ In the past, certain wealthy Mongghul families lived in two-story wood buildings with six rooms (three on the ground floor, three above). The left-hand room on the second floor was usually a shrine, the central room was used to store grain, and the room on the right was a bedroom. The rooms on the ground floor were storehouses or mangers. A wide wood ladder connected the ground floor to the second floor.

²⁴ Mongghul consider the worship of *purghan* an aspect of Buddhism.

²⁵ Pole *purghan* are typically approximately one meter long and three to four centimeters in diameter.

her.

Five years later, more trouble befell this family when a wolf killed one of their largest oxen. Next, two large pigs died for no reason, the youngest son lost his job, and the man's youngest daughter became epileptic. The family disintegrated and became impoverished.

Not knowing what else to do, the head of the home went to ask the village's *purghan* why such calamities had befallen his family, how the problems could be fixed, and how future disaster might be averted. The *purghan* indicated that there had been a family *purghan* in the man's home before the Cultural Revolution, and it had since been used as a rolling pin.²⁶ Women had used it to roll noodles and beat animals, thus the *purghan* had been defiled and offended. The man was told that to restore his family's fortune and, to avoid further disaster, he needed to renew the *purghan* and move the house to a new site, a short distance from where it stood at that time.

The man reinstated the rolling pin as a *purghan* after monks renewed it by chanting Buddhist scriptures in his home. He also delighted every *purghan* by offering tea and money in Rgulang Monastery. He also demolished his old home, built a new home in a new location, and offered incense and butter lamps to the new *purghan* every day. His family's fortunes soon improved.

Ghosts

Ghosts may be divided into *sghanla yii hugusan yiile* 'untimely-death-ghosts' and *luasa hugusan yiile* 'starvation-ghosts'. Both result from abnormal deaths. The former died by such means as hanging, murder, and drowning. Generally, a person died in their youth, and did not experience a full life. The latter type of ghost occurs when people die of starvation, which was once common. Both types of ghost are fierce, cruel to people and animals, covet the happiness of the living, desire their possessions, wander aimlessly, and seize every chance to trouble the living.

Humans are thought to have three kinds of soul.²⁷ One disappears soon after death, one guards the person's grave forever, and the other enters Xnjin 'the underworld' to await *xjawa* 'reincarnation'. The spirit that enters the underworld may be denied another life or prevented from becoming a human. Instead, it might be reborn as a pig, sheep, or donkey. Donkeys and pigs are considered the worst reincarnation. Such animals are thought to have been bad people in their former lives.

If a spirit's hopes for reincarnation are frustrated, then in anger it wanders back to the land of the living, where it may create illness among those who contributed to their suicide or to those who were indifferent to them during their life. Wandering ghosts may be encountered when walking along a road. The ghost may then follow the person back home, hoping for food or clothes. Ghosts are usually harmless and invisible. If ghosts are treated with indifference or cannot benefit from people, they might, for example, make people ill by causing cerebral hemorrhage, facial palsy, or sudden aphasia.

One way to stop ghosts from entering the home is to discard bread brought back after visiting relatives or friends before reentering the home compound, thus discouraging the ghost from following further, as they have gotten the food they were seeking. Ghosts are also terrified of fire and flee immediately when encountering one. Mongghul are traditionally prohibited from opening the courtyard gate for visitors (especially at night) until a pile of straw has been lit.²⁸ Visitors burn the straw and rest for a short time in front of the gate before entering the home when they come back after

²⁶ Prior to the Cultural Revolution, each Mongghul clan had a *purghan*. Many *purghan* were lost during the Cultural Revolution.

²⁷ The three different souls have no specific names.

²⁸ Someone often prepares a straw pile and sets it on fire in front of the gate just before family members return and enter the household. People collect and light the straw themselves if this is not done for them.

a long journey or after visiting a place that is considered evil. The person who has returned rests a little outside the gate while the fire burns, to make sure that no ghosts are with them.

Ghosts covet rapeseed and sesame oil. Consequently, a cart loaded with oil must cross above a burning straw pile in order to enter a home compound when returning from an oil press.

A small red rectangular paper is pasted on the front gate after a woman has given birth (on the top left side if a boy is born or on the right side if a girl is born).²⁹ Cypress twigs are attached to the top of the doorframe if a family lacks red paper. The location and significance are the same as the paper. Ghosts relish little boys, and often follow visitors into a home where a male child has recently been born, hoping to kill the boy by sending disease.³⁰

Ghost Account One

In 1996 a woman of twenty-five married and moved into her husband's home in another village. Her mother had died two years earlier and her father had married a second time, to a Tibetan woman. Before the daughter left her natal home, the family *purghan* was asked what they should avoid on the way to the groom's home. The *purghan* indicated that the husband's family should kill a white rooster after the bride arrived at the groom's home, but before she entered the family compound. The white rooster would expel any evils that had followed her on the way. Also, in the days prior to the marriage, the woman had declared she would visit her mother's grave in order to bid farewell by offering incense and kowtowing. However, she was unable to do this.

On the journey to the groom's home the matchmaker forgot to tell the groom's family to kill the white rooster. The bride arrived, entered the front gate, went to the bridal chamber, and soon contracted a headache. That night after the wedding celebrations, when most people had left the groom's home, an elder sister of the groom went into the bridal chamber to see the bride, and found her unconscious. Her face was contorted and foam was coming from her mouth. The groom's elder sister immediately asked people to come and they sprinkled water on the bride's face, while others busily burned incense and kowtowed, beseeching all *purghan* for help.

The bride regained consciousness about an hour later. She was weak, unable to speak, and needed help to urinate and defecate. She was sent to hospital where no diagnosis was given. Days later she had not improved, but nonetheless returned to her husband's home. The family was very upset, anxiously invited the village *purghan* to their home, and asked what was wrong. They were told that a white-robed ghost had followed her into the groom's home and now possessed her. It was also revealed that the girl had not gone to her mother's grave to bid farewell as she had promised. It was determined that the mother's spirit had taken possession of the bride.

The groom's family killed a white rooster and offered its soul as a substitute for the bride's, and the bride soon recovered. She and her husband went to her mother's grave and said, "Mother, please forget us, we will remember you forever."³¹ They lit incense and kowtowed. The ghost was afterwards thought to have been expelled from the groom's home, but it continued to wander around the groom's home and reentered the family compound by following someone in at night, causing the bride to fall ill again.

Ghost Account Two

During Sangjixji's (b.1963) occasional convulsions, her eyes always fixed on the brightest light-

²⁹ This sign stops strangers from entering the house and bringing ghosts with them. It also prevents guilt and embarrassment on the visitor's part. This is particularly true for a man, for were he to enter such a home, he could not offer lamps in his family *nelshigang* for one month.

³⁰ While a ghost cannot directly kill children, it can send disease that will eventually kill them.

³¹ Mongghul believe that their ancestors may cause disease for their descendants. If an ancestor forgets someone, then that ancestor cannot make that person ill.

source nearby. She did not improve with treatment from any of the various medicines the family bought from clinics, thus her family invited their clan *purghan* to their home to learn the cause of the illness. The *purghan* indicated that the ghost of a female who had died in her twenties was causing the disease because Sangjixji had taken two glass beads that belonged to this woman while she had been alive. The beads had been used as decorations on the edge of a hat. The ghost was causing the illness because it wanted the beads back.

Sangjixji recalled immediately that the girl was her elder brother's daughter, who had hung herself at the age of twenty-one. Sangjixji had been the girl's playmate in childhood and had given her two glass beads to put on her hat as decorations. Sangjixji and her family then decided to put the beads at the site where the girl had been cremated. Sangjixji later recovered and bore a son, despite having been unable to conceive during the first ten years of marriage.

Modaya

Modaya are messengers for the deity Qurixjang that is enshrined in Zankang³² Temple. Locals believe that Qurixjang was a brother of Genghis Khan who was sent to the area of present day Qinghai to suppress a rebellion. As he was returning home after accomplishing his mission, he was slain by an assassin's arrow. Mongghul regard him as a deity. The deities Baghari,³³ Danjan, Garidang,³⁴ and Qurixjang were all sworn brothers.

The seventy-two different manifestations of *modaya* include a beautiful lady, a handsome man, a goat, a sheep, straw ash, a donkey, a dog, colorful cloth, and glass beads.

Modaya often manifest as cats and are usually visible only to the members of the family where they live. *Modaya* in cat form differ from normal cats in having smaller or larger body sizes and also having more human facial expressions. Mongghul believe that an old woman originally trained her cat to become a *modaya*. Usually considered male, *modaya* can have *modaya* wives and prefer to live with rich families. Certain families in Smeen Village (Wushi Town), Niuqi Village (Hongyazigou Township), and Janba Taiga Village (Danma Town) are notorious for raising *modaya*. Several *modaya* commonly live together in the top story of two story homes.

Once it settles with a certain family, a *modaya* is faithful to their hosts, and helps them acquire things from others. *Modaya* are thought particularly adept at stealing grain and taking it to their hosts' granaries. Moreover, if guests arrive unexpectedly at noon or supper and the food prepared is insufficient, the *modaya* can add food. *Modaya* can acquire anything for its owners except coins or cloth, which are thought to be too heavy for *modaya* to carry.³⁵ *Modaya* relish liquor and often visit other homes to secretly drink their liquor.

Modaya are greedy, paranoid, and often steal from other homes, but they are afraid that others

³² A protector deity hall in Rgulang Monastery that is dedicated to the Mongghul hero Baghari, who fought against the legendary Tibetan figure King Ge sar. Zankang Temple is in the southwest section of Rgulang Monastery complex. Zankang Temple safeguards the entire Duluun Lunkuang (Seven Mongghul Valleys).

³³ Huarin Village (Danma Town) today enshrines Baghari in their village temple. Because of antagonistic relationships with Tibetans in the past, Mongghul believe that Baghari strictly forbids singing King Ge sar songs and displaying Ge sar pictures inside and outside of homes and temples in Mongghul areas. Nonetheless, Ge sar stories were sometimes told privately in the past. There is presently one elderly Mongghul man in Tiantang Township, Tianshu Tibetan Autonomous County, Gansu Province, who recites Ge sar stories in Mongghul (Wang 2010).

³⁴ The exact nature of Danjan and Garidang remains unclear, but these deities are worshiped devoutly as important deities in certain Mongghul villages, for example, Danjan Deity is enshrined in homes in Pudang Village.

³⁵ In the past, some coins bore the Emperor's seal and thus *modaya* were afraid of incurring imperial censure for stealing them.

will steal from their hosts. The following demonstrates these attributes.

Modaya Account One

A man visited a wealthy villager whose home was said to host *modaya*. When he entered the courtyard he could see two *modaya* peeping at him from the second story of the rich man's home; they had not been quick enough in making themselves invisible. To trick the *modaya*, the man started talking nonsense to the rich man. "Hey! Watch out! I'm going to take your courtyard gate with me when I leave." When the man started to leave, he saw the *modaya* standing by the gate, holding it tightly; they stayed there staring at him until he had walked far into the distance.

Modaya send disease to people if they find someone has something belonging to their owners, as shown in the following account.

Modaya Account Two

Sangjidanzhu from Janba Village (Danma Town) divorced his wife. A year later, he married a young woman from Smeen Village. Her parents' family had *modaya*. She once visited her parents and, when she was returning home, one of her parents' *modaya* stealthily followed her. Sangjidanzhu's household adjoined his elder brother's house – a traditional, two-story wood building. The left room on the second floor was a *nelshigang* where women and strangers were forbidden.

One night, a month after the woman married into the village, Sangjidanzhu's elder brother noticed that his and his wife's shoes were filled with strange smelling urine and excrement. He and his wife were shocked by how smelly the urine and excrement were. The urine resembled black tea. They quickly threw the shoes containing the urine and excrement out of the family compound. A fortnight later, the couple's shoes were mysteriously filled with wheat seeds. Now they were frightened, and invited a *purghan* to their home. The *purghan* indicated that the problem was caused by a *modaya* living in their second story shrine room. It had come from his younger brother's wife's parent's home and had begun living in the home when the woman married into the village. To drive it away, the elder brother avoided contact with Sangjidanzhu's family. Meanwhile, he invited several monks from Rgulang Monastery to hold a large *hgurin*, a Buddhist chanting ceremony.

They did exactly what the *purghan* instructed. Sangjidanzhu's elder brother's wife later fell ill, so they completely broke off contact with Sangjidanzhu. The whole village slowly ostracized his family. As a result of following the *purghan*'s advice, the *modaya* was expelled from the village, however, it later sought revenge. Two years later when Sangjidanzhu's wife went to visit her parents, her abdomen became swollen and she died in the grip of hysteria just as she reached her parents' home.

*Zan*³⁶ 'Wind Spirits

Zan are evil and can send disease. There are twelve types of *zan* and all travel on paths in straight lines. If a person's path intersects that of a *zan*, the *zan* blocks their way and an illness such as paralysis³⁷ or an epileptic fit results. *Zan* can also knock down such obstructions as trees. *Zan* are only encountered on the first, eighth, and fifteenth days of each lunar month.

³⁶ From the Tibetan, *btsan*, also referring to a similar class of spirits.

³⁷ The Mongghul term for paralysis, *kii niu*, literally means 'wind touch'. Mongghul consider all paralysis to be caused by *zan*, and treat it by inviting monks to chant scriptures in order to drive out the *zan*.

Zan Account

Sangriji, a forty-three year old man from Tangraa Village (Donggou Township), went to his neighbor's home one day in 1996 to watch TV with his younger brother. On his way home he suddenly screamed and fell to the ground. His younger brother picked him up and helped him home, where he soon became paralyzed. His family immediately invited a *purghan* to their home. The *purghan* indicated that Sangriji had been struck down by a *zan* at a crossroad when he had inadvertently blocked its way. This had angered the *zan*, who sent the illness to punish Sangriji.

The *purghan* instructed the family to consult Rgulang Monastery monks in order to determine the identity of the *zan*. Divination indicated that the *zan* was still wandering at the crossroad during the day. Cooperation between the monks and a *purghan* was required in order to catch the *zan*. On the evening of the third day, the monks went to the crossroad to capture the *zan*. Following the *purghan*'s directions, two men dressed in long robes ran around the crossroad, trying to force the *zan* into a goat-skin bag. Meanwhile, the two monks chanted Buddhist scriptures by the road. Unfortunately, the men failed to capture the *zan*, which fled.

Sangriji's condition worsened daily. A month later, Tughuan Living Buddha visited the village and was asked to treat Sangriji. He chanted *Xuarineng* (a Buddhist scripture for expelling evil) in the home, but Sangriji did not recover and instead, his condition continued to worsen. He could not leave his bed to defecate or urinate unaided when I visited his home. The family was encouraged to send Sangriji to hospital, but did not. They thought that the *zan*, which had caused the disease, could not be affected by medicine. Shortly afterward, Sangriji died.

Duduna

Duduna are evil spirits that live in desolate, uninhabited areas and consume the blood and raw flesh of humans and livestock. Locals believe that *duduna* was originally a spatula and a pot-brush tied together and discarded in an uninhabited place. After a great length of time (the figure 1,200 years is mentioned) it turned into *duduna*. *Duduna* can assume thirty-two different forms including a person, a cow, a house, water, or wood. However, its most common form is that of a snake. *Duduna* affect both men and women, but are terrified of monkeys and consequently, never causes illness in houses where monkeys are kept.³⁸

Duduna Account One

In 1975, a young woman was killed by an illness caused by a *duduna*. The young woman's natal home was in Qighaan Dawa Village (Dongshan Township). The young woman married into Lamaguan Village (Donggou Township) and did not visit her parents for a long time. Her mother missed her very much, so she went to the girl's home to see her. Unknown to the mother, a *duduna* from her parents' home caught wind of her plans and went ahead of her.

When the *duduna* arrived, the young woman was busy working on the threshing ground. The *duduna* waited outside, disguised as a willow twig. As she returned, carrying a large bundle of straw on her back, she spat to the side of the courtyard gate. Her saliva landed on the head of the *duduna*, enraging it. After following her into the family compound, the *duduna* caused the woman to hang herself at the top of the straw pile, kneeling beneath the rafters. When the mother reached her daughter's home and found her daughter, she immediately began to babble hysterically, telling people that she had choked her daughter to death.

³⁸ Though I have heard references to monkeys kept in some houses in Huzhu, I have never seen a monkey raised by a Mongghul family, nor are monkeys native to the area. In the past, Han people from Inner China came to Huzhu as itinerant entertainers and brought monkeys that performed tricks when a crowd gathered.

Duduna Account Two

A woman married into Hara Bulog Village from Tangraa Village (both in Donggou Township). The woman's mother-in-law had a relative in Qighaan Dawa Village. The woman fell ill on the day she married. Afterwards, she was often bedridden. Because she stayed in bed and did not often go outside, she became depressed. Furthermore, her husband's family began to mistreat her because of her illness.

These troubles led the woman to conclude that staying in this home was not good for her. She then returned home to seek the advice of her clan's *purghan*. She was told that she would recover from the disease only if she left her husband's home, because his family had *duduna*. The *duduna* hated the woman because her zodiac animal was the monkey, and caused her illness in order to drive her from the family. The *purghan* told the woman that the *duduna* came to her husband's compound from an easterly direction. She was also told that she should leave as soon as possible or else the *duduna* would ruin her life. After hearing this, the woman fled and married into her second husband's home far from her first husband's village. She soon recovered and lived a happy life.

Xruu Aadee 'Earth God'

Xruu Aadee (Earth Grandfather, Earth God) is thought to live in the soil at any place. Any disturbance of the soil enrages him. For example, Xruu Aadee is angered by building a household adobe wall, building a small courtyard garden, selecting a graveyard, or getting dry soil from slopes near the house for pigsty floors. It is safe to move soil if people ask a *purghan* to select a date. If soil is moved without asking a *purghan*, then Xruu Aadee is sure to send illness to that person or their family, mostly to women or young children. For example, Xruu Aadee causes headaches and bodily weakness in women. In children, he causes crying, sleepiness, vomiting, and coughing.

Xruu Aadee has a fixed schedule of movement. Some people can determine when to dig based on an approximation of this schedule. Starting at eight a.m. on the first day of each lunar month, the Earth God begins travelling in a southerly direction and returns at four p.m. the next day. From the following day (i.e., the third), Xruu Aadee stays at his house in the earth until eight a.m. on the fifteenth day, when he again travels in a southerly direction. He returns the next day (the sixteenth day of the lunar month) at four p.m.

It is safe to move earth when Xruu Aadee has left to travel southward. While away, Xruu Aadee will not know that the earth is being moved or alternatively, may know but not care. Mongghul also usually burn incense before moving soil, in order to placate this deity.

Foori 'Grave'

Mongghul are extremely careful in selecting appropriate graveyard sites because they believe that a clan's strength and prosperity is related to graveyard location. Great care must be taken when making a new graveyard or moving a preexisting one to a new site. If a clan wants its members to have such good fortune as passing university entrance examinations or becoming rich or skillful at making felt and woolen cloth, then the graveyard site is considered extremely important.

Graveyards may be moved for several reasons. For example, if a new road is built passing through a graveyard, or if a deep gully begins to form around it because of erosion, then the graveyard must be moved. It is considered particularly harmful if a graveyard has a gully or ditch around it as

this obstructs the prosperity of the clan and may cause nightmares, facial paralysis, and even death among clan members.

Before moving a graveyard, the clan's *purghan* is asked to help select a new site.³⁹ Normally a site is selected at the foot of a mountain that is on a spur from such holy mountains⁴⁰ as Chileb⁴¹ or Durizang.⁴² Graveyards at the feet of mountains or hills that are not connected to a sacred mountain are considered lacking in strength and potential sources of clan weakness.

Graveyard Account One

Before 1980, several children from Tughuan Village had graduated from universities. In contrast, no one from Jilog Village (Wushi Town), to the south of Tughuan Village, had studied at university, even though its population is much larger than that of Tughuan Village.⁴³ People believe Tughuan Village has an auspiciously placed graveyard because the hill behind the graveyard is a spur of Chileb Mountain.⁴⁴ Jilog Village's graveyard does not back onto this peak and is separated from Chileb Mountain.

If a tomb is seen to have many holes made by rats or other animals, those holes are filled.⁴⁵ If this is not done, the clan's ancestors may become angry and cause illness. Herpetic infections on the lips are generally considered related to ancestral graveyards. To placate the ancestors, incense is burned with *szuari* 'mixture of rapeseed oil and wheat flour' at the graveyard. People kowtow, ask for forgiveness from their ancestors, and say, for instance, "Grave grandfather and grandmother, please forget us. We will remember you forever."

Snenshidog fuula 'offering precious vases' is an effort to protect the graveyard site by delighting Xruu Aadee. Buddhist scriptures are put inside a pottery vase⁴⁶ that has an opening approximately four to five centimeters in diameter, a short neck, and a round body that can hold about half a liter. It is usually white and blue. The opening is covered with a piece of red cloth. An exact site by the grave is chosen by a *purghan*. A senior male family or clan member buries the vase at a depth of about one meter in this spot. Before the hole is filled in, wheat grain, cypress twigs, butter, and oats are scattered around the vase. This delights the Earth God, who then takes care of the graves.

³⁹ In the past, some Mongghul invited a Living Buddha to come and select the site, but *purghan* were mostly consulted.

⁴⁰ Holy mountains are thought to provide strong backing for graveyards. Clans that have graveyards backing onto holy mountains are luckier than those whose graveyards do not.

⁴¹ Located in today's Danma Town.

⁴² Located in Wushi Town.

⁴³ Before 1980, there were about twenty families in Tughuan Village while there were around fifty families in Jilog Village.

⁴⁴ All Tughuan Village residents have the same ancestor and belong to the same clan. Their graveyard site was decided when villagers settled in Tughuan from Wushi Town in order to herd livestock. Xansa (an honorific for knowledgeable, literate people who could tell fortunes, and select graveyards) of Haji Village (Danma Town) chose the site in cooperation with the *purghan* of Tughuan Mengen. See Limusishiden and Stuart (1994) for further details.

⁴⁵ Mongghul repair their graves annually on Tomb-Sweeping Day, which is usually in the second or third lunar month.

⁴⁶ Made in Rgulang Monastery.

Zooya Aanee 'Kitchen Granny'

It is thought that Zooya Aanee was originally a male who generously supported a poor Mongghul family.⁴⁷ After he died, that family smeared a white mud circle on the back wall of their kitchen and worshipped it to commemorate him.

Because the kitchen is the exclusive domain of women, people later started to call this deity Zooya Aanee. The cult of Zooya Aanee spread among the Mongghul. On the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of the twelfth lunar month, Mongghul families see Zooya Aanee off to Shge Tingere, offering steamed buns, burning incense and oil lamps, and kowtowing. While Zooya Aanee is in Heaven, people refrain from consulting the *purghan*.⁴⁸ She is gone until the early morning of the first day of the first lunar month.

A straw horse mounted by a straw figure was made for Zooya Aanee. This effigy was about half a meter tall and one meter long. A long narrow paper bag was slung over the straw figure's shoulders and small steamed buns were put inside the bag, symbolizing Zooya Aanee mounting her horse to go to Heaven. Today this offering has become simplified, with families now offering twelve small steamed buns, an oil lamp, and incense. Meanwhile, women say, "Zooya Aanee, please go quickly to Heaven and return quickly on the morning of the first day of the first lunar month. Please bring happiness, children, grandchildren, livestock, and wheat oil. Please take away all disease from the family."

Early in the morning of the first day of the first lunar month, the courtyard gate is opened to welcome back Zooya Aanee, who is believed to bring happiness and wealth to families. Simultaneously, a big straw fire is lit, incense is burnt, and family members kowtow and set off firecrackers in the courtyard. If a family forgets to send off or receive Zooya Aanee, then people or livestock in that household may fall ill or other disasters will occur. For example, daughters-in-law may be childless or crops may be destroyed by hail.

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS

Non-Specialists

Two methods are widely used by Mongghul to treat basic ailments such as colds, headaches, stomachaches, and other mild discomforts: *daji gharigha* 'expelling evil' and *huubada* 'expelling ghosts with straw fire'. Both methods are easy to perform and cheap enough that any family can perform them. When a family member suddenly gets a headache, for instance, a man (normally the father) performs *daji gharigha*. To do this he may use one of several things – ashes mixed with saliva, a piece of highland barley bread, or a kitchen knife – to quickly and lightly slap the patient on the back or shoulders, or on top of the head (if the patient has a headache). While doing so he says, "In my family, there is no food to eat, no clothes to wear. Do not remain. Please leave quickly." The bread or ashes are thrown out of the gate after this is done. If a knife was used, it is lodged into the gate's wooden frame with the blade pointing outwards⁴⁹ and the gate is firmly bolted from inside. It is then taboo for the family to receive visitors for at least half a day, or until the next morning.

Huubada is used if the pain is severe. A bundle of straw is tied to a stick and lit, after rape oil or

⁴⁷ The details of who the man was, who the family were, or where the events took place, are unknown.

⁴⁸ All *purghan* are thought to go to Shge Tingere for a holiday during this period.

⁴⁹ This is done at night and the knife is removed the next morning before the gate is opened.

kerosene has been poured on it.⁵⁰ The patient sits in the courtyard center while the father passes the burning straw around them three times in a clockwise direction and then three times in an anti-clockwise direction. Once this is done, the bundle of straw is thrown out of the courtyard through the open gate. During the procedure, words identical to those used in *daji gharigha* are used.⁵¹

For injuries such as broken bones or flesh wounds, people now generally go to a clinic or hospital.⁵² For other health issues, Huzhu Mongghul may consult *purghan*, *nenjengui*, *lamadii*, *hguandii*, *hguriden*, *smanba*, or *bog*.⁵³

Purghan 'Deities'

As described above, *purghan* are deities represented by images carried in a sedan, or by cloth-covered poles. *Purghan* are considered highly efficacious in determining the cause and treatment for illnesses and other troubles, and are commonly consulted.

A major role of *purghan* in curing disease is expelling or subduing ghosts. A *purghan* may employ several 'weapons', including sand, sacred water, heated chains, a wooden or iron knife, bow and arrow, and a spear. In accordance with a *purghan's* instructions, such weapons are used on the courtyard gate frame or under the threshold. If the weapon is used in the gate frame, it is lodged in the wood with its tip facing the direction from which the evil came. If the weapon is to be used under the threshold, it is buried with its tip pointing in the direction the evil originated.

Sand might also be flung into rooms following a *purghan's* instructions. This is usually done at night. Heated chains are used in a similar way to eradicate ghosts. Sacred water is prepared by boiling water containing wheat grain and cypress twigs. A *purghan* may instruct family members to wash their faces and bodies with such water to purify themselves.

In dealing with certain long-term illnesses, a *purghan* may request that a family burn paper ghosts in order to send them back to their source. Monks usually make the paper ghosts, which are in the shape of a human silhouette. The afflicted family burns the ghosts as monks chant.

A *purghan* may enlist the help of monks because the *purghan* can expel ghosts more easily when monks chant Buddhist scriptures. A monk may also make dough effigies of ghosts, which are then taken to a crossroad and tossed in the direction from which the ghosts are thought to have come.

A *purghan* may bless some materials that are then put around the neck, sewn into the clothing, or eaten.⁵⁴ Wearing or eating these materials is thought to protect from ailments sent by ghosts. A special way to protect a boy from disease is for him to wear a chain locked around his neck until he reaches the age of three or seven. This is considered very efficacious in protecting against ghosts and other evil forces.

⁵⁰ Rapeseed oil was used for light in all Mongghul villages before 1975. Afterwards, villagers could purchase and use kerosene. Mongghul villages began to have electricity starting from about 1980.

⁵¹ The family cannot receive visitors for several hours if the ritual is held during the day. They do not receive visitors until the next day if the ritual is held at night.

⁵² In the past, broken bones were fixed with wooden boards. This was done by whoever had relevant experience. There were no specialist bonesetters. Sometimes the patient simply lay down and tried to keep still while the broken bone healed. Flesh wounds were usually bound up with cloth.

⁵³ A detailed explanation of each follows.

⁵⁴ See Limusishiden and Stuart (1994) for more detail.

Nenjengui 'Eye-See-Ghost, Seers'

Nenjengui are also known as *yiile sgajin kun* 'ghost seeing person'. Both males and females can become *nenjengui*, but how one becomes a *nenjengui* is unclear. Their special ability is that they can see ghosts. A *nenjengui* told me, "I can see ghosts everywhere. Normal people cannot see them." To the *nenjengui*, ghosts look like normal people. Because they can see ghosts, the *nenjengui* are able to avoid them by not, for example, walking in gullies or near places where people were cremated because such places are haunted by ghosts. Once, a *nenjengui* told my mother that she disliked walking through Jinbu Valley⁵⁵ because ghosts harassed her whenever she walked there. *Nenjengui* cannot expel ghosts unaided. They must rely on the cooperation of the *purghan*.

Nenjengui Account One

Lamuduriji, a man from Hgarilang Village (Danma Township), suddenly fell ill. A seventy-year-old *nenjengui* from Danyan Village (Donggou Township) was invited to his home. The *nenjengui* came out of the room he was sitting in that night, stood quietly in the courtyard for a moment, and suddenly cried out, "She's coming! She's coming! She's too strong! I can't hold her! Quickly bring your *purghan* to help me!" The family members immediately brought the *purghan* into the courtyard. The *nenjengui* indicated the direction the ghost was coming from. The *purghan* followed, trying to capture the ghost. Finally, the *purghan* captured the ghost under a black bowl, which was then buried deep in the earth at the spot where it had been caught. Lamuduriji recovered from his illness the next day.

Nenjengui Account Two

In 1982, a man from Tangraa Village fell ill while doing construction work in Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. He became weak and disorientated, was bedridden, and unable to eat or drink. He returned home for treatment by *purghan* and medicine, which proved ineffective. His family was later informed by a *purghan* that a *nenjengui* was required to help capture the ghost that was afflicting the man. The family sent a member with two loaves of baked bread and a brick of tea to invite a *nenjengui* – an elderly woman, who agreed to come help.

Upon arrival, she immediately went to a spring in front of the ill man's gate, stood there, and behaved as if she saw something. She solemnly said, "There are two young girls walking here. A dog is following them. One is about seventeen and the other is about eighteen. They are young and strong."

The family immediately understood that this referred to two girls who had died ten years earlier. One had hung herself and the other had died after falling down a steep slope on a rainy day. They were sisters and both had been fond of dogs. The *nenjengui* quickly trapped the ghost of the seventeen-year-old under a black bowl. Meanwhile, she told the others to capture the other girl, who was fleeing with the dog. However, they were unable to capture the girl or the dog.

The *nenjengui* did not look any further that night. The next morning, a very young girl drowned in the spring when she was fetching water. People believed that the escaped ghost was taking revenge for her younger sister. Villagers immediately stopped fetching spring water, however, several days later, two horses died at the spring. Feeling helpless, the family invited the *purghan* again to seek help. The *purghan* communicated that they should make a tiger effigy with adobe bricks and put it beside the spring. Afterwards, the ghost did not dare come to the spring because she was worried that the tiger would eat her dog. The afflicted man eventually recovered.

⁵⁵ Jinbu Valley, in today's Yamaha Village (Congou Township), is where my mother's natal home is located.

Nenjengui Account Three

A man fell ill in Tangraa Village and a *nenjengui* was invited to his home one night. As the *nenjengui* entered his home she said, "Your grandfather is coming and he is leading a young boy. They are both wearing white woolen gowns."

The husband of the family skeptically said, "I don't believe what you are saying!"

She replied, "If you don't believe me, I'll show you what I see! Close your eyes, I'll call them over to you." Then the *nenjengui* said, "You two come here just a minute so that someone can see you! Quickly! Now please open your eyes and look!"

When he opened his eyes, he saw his grandfather and dead son standing before him about two steps away on the porch.⁵⁶ From then on the man became timid and dared not go outside alone at night.

Nenjengui's payment depends on the family's economic condition. Well-off families pay a lot while poor families pay little. A small amount of money such as seven RMB, a loaf of bread, or brick of tea may be given. The position of *nenjengui* is not hereditary, but certain villages are famous for producing effective *nenjengui*, for example, Rangghuali and Yomajaa villages (both in Donggou Township). *Nenjengui's* eyes are said to resemble cat eyes. Despite this, people do not fear *nenjengui*, nor do they especially respect them.

Lamadii 'Monks'

Lamadii chant Buddhist scriptures and use *shdirima* 'dough effigies' to help people recover from disease. Almost all monks in Huzhu are invited from Rgulang Monastery, where nearly all the monks are Mongghul. A family first invites a *purghan* to the house when someone falls ill. If the illness is caused by a *purghan*,⁵⁷ inviting several knowledgeable monks to the house to recite texts may appease it. Buddhist scriptures are also recited if a ghost causes disease.

The number of monks needed varies according to the texts that will be recited. One to two monks are enough if the sutra is short, and more monks are needed if it is a lengthy text.⁵⁸ Monks ask for pieces of cloth from the sick person's household and throw them in the direction from which the ghost came. Sometimes cloth and *shdirima* are both used. The direction in which to throw these, and the time to throw them, are chosen by a *purghan* or decided by the monks.

Families occasionally go to Rgulang Monastery to offer tea, bread, small sums of money (around ten RMB per monk), and noodles, while monks recite Buddhist scriptures for the family and the patient. Monks are usually paid ten to thirty RMB, two loaves of baked bread, a tea brick, and *kadog*.⁵⁹ If someone suffers a prolonged illness and is considered unable to recover, the family may seek to alleviate their suffering by inviting monks to recite the *Lanjog* scripture that helps the person die sooner and suffer less.

⁵⁶ His grandfather had died about ten years earlier. His son had died three years earlier. The same ghost killed them both.

⁵⁷ See the previous section on causes of illness for details of how *purghan* cause illness.

⁵⁸ The maximum number of monks required is 108. If assembled, three days are needed to chant the *Guan Jiri* (*Bka' 'gyur*, the 108 volumes of the Buddha's teachings). The minimum number of monks needed to chant is one, for example for chanting *Sandhog*, which can be chanted in three to four hours.

⁵⁹ A piece of white, yellow, gray, or blue silk given respectfully to important guests.

Hguandii 'Tantrins'

Hguandii were similar to Tibetan *sngags pa*, non-monastic tantric practitioners of the Rnying ma Sect of Tibetan Buddhism.⁶⁰ The position was hereditary and *hguandii* wore a crimson robe. *Hguandii* did not learn Buddhist scriptures in monasteries and could marry and have children. Usually *hguandii* stayed at home working in the field, and were invited to people's homes to expel ghosts.

To become a *hguandii*, one needed to study Buddhist scriptures in a tent pitched at 108 locations in the wilderness. A common Huzhu Mongghul saying is "*Qulangshidari so*. Sit beside a spring and learn Buddhist scripture in a tent." This suggests that a *hguandii* sit cross-legged in a tent beside springs and chant Buddhist scriptures. By visiting 108 sites to study Buddhist scriptures, the *hguandii* mastered magic arts.

Hguandii could perform either good or bad acts. If their magical powers were sufficiently strong, a *hguandii* could summon evil powers and order them to do things for him. In some cases, *hguandii* expelled ghosts from an ill person's body by using a goat-skin bag to capture the ghost. With the *purghan* and *nenjengui's* cooperation, the *hguandii* put the ghost in the bag, and then chanted scriptures while tying the mouth of the bag with a string. If a ghost was captured, then the bag was burned while the *hguandii* chanted Buddhist scriptures, usually in a remote sheltered location far from the village. In the event of a suicide, particularly by hanging, the whole village participated in catching the ghost in a goat-skin bag, as suicide ghosts are thought to be particularly harmful.

Hguandii also sent illness to those they were unhappy with. Female body parts were considered to give power to the *hguandii*, therefore, *hguandii* often fastened the hair of dead young women to their own hair, which was worn long. An eighteen-year-old girl's thighbone was regarded by *hguandii* as an effective weapon in expelling evils. Ghosts are terrified by, but also attracted to, the sound of this instrument. The *hguandii* could capture ghosts in a goat-skin bag when they approached the sound of the thigh-bone shawm. Furthermore, the flesh of a young girl was considered delicious for evil powers, and was also thought to increase a *hguandii's* magical powers. It was widely believed by Mongghul that *hguandii* ate pieces of dead girls' flesh. A young Han woman was once riding a horse down the road. When she saw a *hguandii* she was so frightened that she fell off her horse and died, illustrating the fear that *hguandii* struck in young women.

A *xanjang* is a tall, thick-walled rectangular building, built atop a high hill. Xanjang Village (Danma Town) gained its name from a *xanjang* built on the top of the hill behind the village. It was still there in 2008. The building provided a place for *hguandii* to recite scriptures. *Hguandii* were taken to a *xanjang* to chant when invited to cure illness. Meanwhile, the patient sat cross-legged in front of, and slightly below, the *hguandii*. If a *xanjang* was lacking, this was usually done in the person's home.

Hguandii wore a crimson robe and long boots. They were usually paid in bread or cash.

*Hguriden*⁶¹ 'Deity Mediums'

Hguriden were mediums that embodied *purghan* and were called *fala* by the Han. In order to be possessed, the *hguriden* lit incense and kowtowed to a certain *purghan* in the home where he had been

⁶⁰ The word *hguandii* is probably the Mongghulized pronunciation of a common oral A mdo Tibetan word for *ngags pa* – *dpon*. There are no longer any Mongghul *hguandii*.

⁶¹ From the Tibetan, *sku rten* 'body base'. There were no practicing Mongghul *hguriden* in 2010.

invited. The *purghan* then possessed him. The *hguriden* shook his head from side to side and spoke indistinctly in Mongghul, explaining that such and such a *purghan* had possessed him, and gesticulated erratically with his arms and hands. He might have been possessed by different *purghan* on different occasions.

Questions were submitted to the deity that possessed the *hguriden*, and the deity replied through the *hguriden*. After the possession, which usually lasted less than an hour, the *hguriden* claimed to have been unaware of what had happened.

Hguriden typically performed while wearing a yellow or red gown bound at the waist by a red sash, a red cloth covered their head, and they wore a copper mirror on their forehead. Some *hguriden* attached small bells to the red cloth.

Hguriden learned Buddhist scriptures from *hguandii* in temples in the Nansan Mountains.⁶² They may have gone alone to such temples, or with other *hguriden*. *Hguriden* were the same as *hguandii* insofar as they could use their powers for both good and evil.

Hguriden identified evils while possessed. Mongghul generally regarded them as less powerful than *purghan*.

The last *hguriden* was from Lawa Village (Danma Town). He became possessed immediately after touching Langja Village's *purghan's merilang*.⁶³ He died in a collapsed gold mine some time during the early twenty-first century.

*Smanba*⁶⁴ 'Doctors'

Under government initiatives to improve rural health infrastructure, doctors began working in Mongghul communities after Liberation. Medical training classes were held irregularly in village primary schools. Some illiterate Mongghul attended and were trained for very short periods, usually two or three months. Some later received further training in Danma and Weiyuan towns.

Smanba Account One

Baghaxja was recruited to work as an orderly in Huzhu People's Hospital (Weiyuan Town) in about 1967. A few years later, he was assigned to work in a pharmacy in Halazhigou Township, Huzhu County, after being trained for two months in basic medical knowledge at a clinic in Weiyuan Town. Class content was limited to how to give an injection and the function of a few traditional Chinese medicinal herbs. Their only equipment was a stethoscope and some acupuncture needles. Baghaxja's illiterate daughter succeeded him at the medical clinic after he retired. She became a nurse after attending some basic health training in Weiyuan Town.

Smanba Account Two

Warimaduriji was recruited to take part in a medical training class in Maohebu Village (Halazhigou Township) for one year in 1966. The Qinghai Province Epidemic Bureau⁶⁵ provided the training in

⁶² Within the boundaries of today's Ledu Region, Qinghai Province.

⁶³ From the Tibetan, *me long* 'mirror', the *merilang* is a metallic disk on the forehead or middle upper chest of some sedan *purghan*.

⁶⁴ From the Tibetan *sman pa* 'doctor'.

⁶⁵ *Qinghaisheng fangyizhan*.

order to teach barefoot doctors how to give injections, use common Traditional Chinese Medicines, and how to give immunizations. Their only equipment was a stethoscope and a few acupuncture needles. Upon completion of the training, Warimaduriji worked as a doctor in Zelin and Dongdanma villages (both in Danma Town). In about 1998, he set up a private clinic in his village, where he now treats minor ailments for villagers.

*Bog*⁶⁶

The word *bog* refers both to a ritual (Bog) and to the ritual specialists who perform in it (*bog*).⁶⁷ The villagers invite several *bog* with two loaves of baked bread and one bottle of liquor.⁶⁸ A *purghan* determines how many *bog* will perform, and where in the village they should perform.

The performers sing and dance to invite gods and ancestors to come attend a symbolic banquet, which is held either by the whole village or by the members of a certain family. Bog is usually performed in the village temple or on a threshing ground at the village center.

On the second day of the second lunar month, a particularly large Bog is held in Shgeayili Village (Donggou Township) and, on the third day of the third lunar month, another large Bog is performed in Yomajaa Village. Dige Bog 'Egg Bog' is only performed in Sughuangghual Village (Danma Town) on the eighteenth day of the third lunar month. During the latter Bog, attendees bring boiled eggs and knock them against others'. The cracked egg belongs to the participant whose egg did not crack.⁶⁹

The *bog* ritual specialists may be Mongghul or Han, as determined by the village *purghan*. The month before the ritual, villagers invite *bog* according to a *purghan's* instructions regarding the direction of their homes from the village and the number of *bog*. Bog is intended to delight gods and ancestors in the hope that they will grant the village a bumper harvest, more knowledgeable scholars, and grant good health to people and livestock.

Bog usually lasts three days. The *bog* arrive in the morning of the first day and erect offerings called *fan* in the afternoon. A *fan* is a wooden cross-stick at the top of a high pole. Attached to it are two ring-shaped loaves of fried bread, to which are stuck many yellow, blue, red, white, and black papers. All villagers contribute to the construction of the *fan*. Putting it up signifies that the gods and

⁶⁶For video footage of this ritual, see <https://archive.org/details/MongghulBospiritMediumRitualInHuzhuCountyQinghaiProvince>, accessed 28 January 2015.

⁶⁷Schram (2006:399) provides a description of the Bog ritual. He also (399) describes the *bog* ritual specialists, whom he calls shamans, as follows:

According to the Monguors, the shaman is a man who interposes between men and spirits, either as a friend of each, in case of good spirits or, as a protector of men in case of evil spirits. He devotes himself, and gives himself up wholly to the service of certain definite spirits which take possession of him, and which he gathers in his drum. They sometimes speak by means of his mouth, help him to call up other spirits which he sees and hears talking in his drum, and with which he is able to speak. The spirits help him to arrange appointments with other spirits, bestowing blessings and boons, and helping him combat evil ones, which play havoc and work damage. According to the Monguors, he is a more powerful man than others, able to save the villagers when their happiness is imperiled and the world in a mess.

⁶⁸In the past, the main Bog were Tanzi Swine Bog, in Tanzi Village (Dongshan Town); Smeen Bog, in Smeen Village; Qaghual Bog, in Qaghual Village (Dongshan Township); Xanjang Bog, in Xanjang Village (Danma Town); Jangwarima Dog-Head Bog, in Jangwarima Village (Weiyuan Town); Yomajaa Bog, in Yomajaa Village; and Shuangshu Bog (Shuangshu Township).

⁶⁹See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x9afvaVcy5Y> and <http://www.oralliterature.org/collections/limusishidenandjugui001.html> for an example of an Egg Bog filmed by Zhu Yongzhong on the eighteenth day of the third lunar month in the year 2000 in Sughuangghual Village.

ancestors have been invited, and the feast is ready to begin. On the second day, *bog* start their performance. All villagers come to enjoy it. While *bog* recite scriptures, the *fan* is taken down⁷⁰ on the night of the third day in a westward direction, which prevents hailstorms that originate in the west.

During Bog, families take extreme care to prevent little boys from being grasped by *bog*, as this may cause illness and death. Most boys are prohibited from attending. If a certain boy insists on attending, his parents smear a round mark on his forehead with ash or red lacquer. The *bog* will not capture a boy marked in this way.

Parents also strictly interrogate male children to determine if they feel well during Bog. If a boy is found to be unwell during Bog, it is believed that the *bog* have caused the illness. If the *purghan* confirms that a boy's illness has been caused by the *bog*, then the only way to treat him is to immediately take a rooster to the Bog site. The parents beseech the *bog* to exchange the life of the boy for the rooster's life. The boy will probably recover if this is done early on, but if the parents are too late, and cannot present the rooster before the *fan* are taken down, the boy is considered doomed to die. Another way to heal the boy is for his family to hold a private Bog in their home. Even then, there is little chance of him recovering. Furthermore, many people cannot afford the expenses of food, liquor, and fees for the dancers involved with holding a private Bog.

Boys are highly valued in Mongghul areas. The *bog* can also protect a boy if his parents can get the *bog* performers to pledge their protection. During Bog, some families take their favorite boy to the *bog* to ensure his protection. The *bog* may offer a vow to protect the boy until he is seven or eight. Some boys may be protected until the age of fifteen. The boy's hair is not cut and it is taboo for him to visit his maternal uncles during those years. When the guardianship period expires, the boy is led to the place where the Bog is held in the threshing ground or in the temple (if it is a village-level Bog) or in a home (if it is a family Bog). The parents beseech the *bog* to return the boy safely to them. Meanwhile, the family offers a slaughtered pig or a live rooster, burns incense, and kowtows to thank the *bog* for protecting the boy. The slaughtered pig and live rooster are usually given to the *bog* when they have finished their performance and are preparing to leave. The boy is then allowed to cut his hair and can visit his maternal uncles once again.

NAMES OF DISEASES AND TREATMENT METHODS

Mongghul Words for Illness

The following Mongghul terms are used to describe illness.

Nari. Illness in general. This term may be translated as 'sickness' or 'disease' and describes human and animal physical and mental illnesses. If someone says that a certain person or animal has a *nari* this indicates that the person or animal is unhealthy or has serious psychological issues. This may include sadness or depression.

Wuushu Gua. *Xjiri Gua*. Discomfort. These terms are commonly used to describe such mild discomfort as dizziness or slight stomach pain and are also used to describe the general health condition of elderly people and small children. There is no difference between the two terms.

⁷⁰ This means that all the deities and ancestors are happy and are about to leave.

Mongghul Illnesses

The following describes several common diseases in Mongghul areas and the method of treating each.

Kuiden naa. Vaginitis and metritis. If a woman suffers vaginitis or metritis she mixes jujubes and wheat bran together, fries them in flax oil, puts the mixture into a cloth bag, and places it on her navel while lying down. The treatment may last from a few days to half a month. The woman may also lie down while a female friend or relative rubs her abdomen around the navel. These are considered efficacious treatments for vaginitis and metritis.

Xriga naa. The Mongghul term for hepatitis literally means 'liver descends'. Mongghul believe that the liver actually descends in the abdomen during hepatitis. A sash is worn around the abdomen at the height of the liver over the painful area. Usually a dead women's sash is considered most efficacious in treating the disease.

Another method involves a woman rubbing the ailing person. Any woman can do this. She starts on the lower back, and then works her hands to the front of the patient, rubbing over the liver area. Her hands slowly move up to the chest as she says, "*Xriga ruguwu? Ruguwa!* Liver repositioning? Repositioned!" The area is rubbed once in the morning, once at noon, and again at night. During the rubbing, the ailing person stretches out their big toes and thumbs and raises and lowers their head repeatedly.

Qighaan naa. Cataracts are treated by placing a consecrated, pea-sized pill from Rgulang Monastery under the patient's eyelid that remains there until the cataract disappears. A second method is to fill a urinal bowl with rainwater and adding seven wheat seeds. The bowl may be held by anyone while the following is recited: "*Nige, ghoori, ghuran, deeran, tawun, jirighun, duluun! Hanawu? Hanawa! Sajirawu? Sajirawa! Ghari xwu? Ghari xwa! Sainani? Saina!* One, two, three, four, five, six, seven! Effective? Effective! Crack? Crack! Rise? Rise! Better? Better!" as the patient sits on the ground. This is repeated daily until the cataract disappears. In some places in Huzhu, the same recitation is made while holding a mule placenta.

The third treatment involves *suutang taari*: a brown, round stone (usually three are used) from a riverbed that is generally used to expel ghosts. The stones are heated in a kitchen stove. Once they turn red they are put in a bucket of water. As steam rises from the bucket, the bucket is turned clockwise three times and then anti-clockwise three times. The patient then rubs the water over their eyes.

Puu szari. An efficacious treatment is to mix honey and bean flour together and apply to the tongue to treat cold sores. Anyone with previous experience may prepare this treatment.

Liruu. Asthma is treated with a mixture of white sugar, egg white, and boiled water, which is drunk three times a day. Drinking a young boy's first urine of the day is another treatment.

Broken bones. Injured limbs are also treated using a young boy's first urine of the day. It is considered effective in treating swelling and in sterilizing the wound. Usually a mother provides such treatment for her children, but anyone with previous experience may do this.

Gujai nari. Ingesting powdered stone treats stomach complaints by relieving pain. The stone is gathered in high mountains above the village, and is usually white. The powder is produced in a stone mortar by family elders, and eaten by the spoonful, followed by hot water.

Tiugha. Dysentery is treated with a mixture of vinegar and black sugar, which is boiled in a spoon that can hold approximately thirty milliliters.

Rashes. When rashes appear, a round piece of paper is cut with a circular hole in the center, the diameter of which is as big as the rash. Incense sticks are lit and the paper is lightly patted around the rash. Meanwhile, "*Burawu? Burawa! Ending? Ending!*" is repeated. This is done until the rash disappears. Another method is to smear soil from a pigsty on the rash.

ANATOMICAL TERMS IN MONGGHUL

Skeletal System

The skeletal system consists of the *tarogxjii yasi* 'skull'; *qurighua yasi* 'clavícula'; *dalii yasi* 'scapula'; *haisizi* 'rib'; *xjiuniuri yasi* 'sternum'; *ghari ganzi* 'humerus, radius, and ulna'; *huri yasi* 'ossa carpi, ossa metacarpi, and phalanges'; *kuazi yasi* 'hipbone'; *suul yasi* 'coccyx'; *budin lanjii* 'thighbone'; *xjog* 'kneecap'; *gantii yasi* 'thighbone'; *kol yasi* 'phalanges'; and *gangsa yasi* 'vertebrae'.

Digestive System

The digestive system is made up of the *huji, ama* 'mouth'; *mula kilee* 'palate'; *kilee* 'tongue'; *shdi* 'teeth'; *huula* 'larynges'; *fulaan huula* 'esophagus'; *gujai* 'stomach'; *mula gidesi* 'duodenum, jejunum and ileum'; *shge gidesi* 'intestinum crassum and colon'; *suul gidesi* 'caecum'; *haliga, xriga* 'liver'; *suulizi* 'gall bladder'; and *diliu* 'pancreas'.

Respiratory System

The respiratory system consists of the *hawari* 'nose'; *huula* 'larynges'; *wuqog* 'trachea'; *mula wuqog* 'bronchi'; and *wuhgu* 'lungs'.

Urinary System

The urinary system features the *bora* 'kidneys'; *xiisi shdazi* 'urethra'; and *dasizog* 'bladder'.

Reproductive System

The reproductive system is made up of the *taxog* 'testis'; *tamog shdazi* 'ductus deferens'; *podanzi* 'scrotum'; *buudi* 'penis'; *furai sojin* 'ovarium'; *furai yiujiin shdazi* 'tuba uterina'; *ger* 'uterus'; *shdugu, babii* 'vagina'; and *xiizi mara* 'pudendum femininum'.

Cardiovascular System

The cardiovascular system consists of the *jirihga* 'heart' and *qizi shdazi* 'vessels'.

Miscellaneous Body Parts

Miscellaneous body parts include the *jirihga shdazi* 'nerves'; *loshiba* 'brain'; *xjog* 'joints'; *jirihga* 'ligaments'; *hgang* 'spinal cord'; *tulighui* 'head'; *manglii* 'forehead'; *qigi* 'ears'; *qigi laxji* 'helix'; *nudu* 'eyes'; *aagu nudu* 'pupils'; *niuri* 'face'; *yaruu* 'chin'; *guji* 'neck'; *dalii* 'shoulders'; *xjiuniuri* 'chest'; *nurixjii* 'back'; *sangra* 'waist'; *ghuanjisi* 'hip'; *kiile* 'abdomen'; *kuizi* 'navel'; *ghuanjisi ama* 'anus'; *shghai*, *xghai* 'legs'; *kol*, *kuali* 'foot'; *qimusi*, *qimuza* 'nails'; *xaa* 'malleolus'; and *kugua* 'breasts'.

PREVENTATIVE MEASURES

Mongghul typically prefer to visit Traditional Chinese Medicine clinics, rather than biomedical clinics, because there they can get a quicker diagnosis without an elaborate, expensive examination, and medicines from traditional Chinese clinics are cheaper than hospital treatments. Such diseases as cholecystitis, stomach diseases, heart disease, and liver problems can be diagnosed and treated at Traditional Chinese Medicine clinics.

Dietary Restrictions

For common gynopathies, doctors recommend that patients avoid vinegar, chili, egg, and meat until they recover. The patient is also recommended to abstain from intercourse until the disease is cured.

Inoculations

Inoculations are given to children only by clinic, 'barefoot,' and hospital doctors. Because parents do not understand the value of inoculations, doctors need to go from home to home inoculating children in villages. The purpose and precise nature of the process need to be carefully explained to parents before they will allow their child to be inoculated.⁷¹

Funerals

A bowl full of clear water with a pair of red chopsticks across the top are placed before a person as they are dying, signifying that a road has been made for them to their next reincarnation and that the soul will be able to successfully pass to the underworld. If the red chopsticks and bowl of water are not brought, the soul might be unable to enter the underworld for reincarnation. If this happens, the spirit may return to the family and cause illness.

⁷¹ This situation has improved since the 1990s, and Mongghul now willingly have their children inoculated.

After death, a clansman is sent to Rgulang Monastery to consult a monk (usually a senior monk) to determine what caused the person's death, in which direction and to where the deceased soul has gone,⁷² and how the funeral should be conducted.

After death, family members immediately kowtow and burn incense to Shge Tingere and all *purghan*. This is done so that the deceased's soul will not go far away.⁷³ Meanwhile, a male clan member is sent to ask a *purghan* the following questions:

- What should be done for the funeral?
- How many monks should be invited to the home to chant scriptures?
- What should the family send to Rgulang Monastery?
- On what date should the funeral be held?
- How much money should be distributed to participants during the mourning period?⁷⁴
- What time should the corpse be taken for cremation?
- People of which zodiac signs should avoid the (sedan-shaped) coffin as the corpse is being moved out of the home?
- What position should the corpse face during cremation?
- How much time should pass after cremation before the bones and ashes are collected?
- When should the urn holding the ashes and bones be moved to the graveyard?

The family follows the *purghan's* instructions precisely. If this is not done, the *purghan* and also the soul of the deceased may send disease to the family, or to the person who disobeys.

After the corpse is taken out of the house, the whole house is swept clean with a broom, signifying that any lingering evil has been driven from the home. As the corpse is put into the clan's cremation oven, two cremators⁷⁵ are selected to burn the corpse.⁷⁶ The two cremators are later given two steamed breads for this service. When returning to the deceased's home from having taken the coffin to the cremation ground, visitors wash their hands and face with water outside the home gate. A straw fire is lit and people must jump over it to dispel any attached evils and purify themselves.

During the three-day mourning period, three to ten monks are invited to the deceased's home to chant scriptures. At night, family members kneel and worship at the foot of the *yikang* where the monks sit and chant. This chanting is believed to open a wide road for the deceased to travel to the

⁷² Mongghul believe that the deceased are reincarnated into a clan member's family.

⁷³ It is hoped that the soul will reincarnate into the household or into the family of nearby relatives.

⁷⁴ On a day during the mourning period or, on the morning when the corpse is taken to be cremated, the deceased's family distributes a small amount of money (usually one to two RMB) to every villager suggesting that they are paving a wide road to the underworld for the soul of the deceased.

⁷⁵ The cremators are two elderly men who had had no enmity with the deceased. Such people are selected because the deceased's family worries about the cremators interfering with the corpse in revenge for past offense.

⁷⁶ The round cremation oven is made of 108 bricks and can accommodate one person. When the corpse is put inside the oven, the two cremators burn incense, kowtow to the oven, and put pieces of the broken sedan inside. Cypress twigs are put in the four holes at the bottom of the cremation oven and set on fire. Historically, Mongghul added butter from the top of the oven to aid in burning the corpse, but I have not personally witnessed this done at the funerals I have observed. This may be because of the lack of milk cows in the Mongghul area and, therefore, the lack of butter. Butter can be bought, but the expense is prohibitive. The holes at the bottom of the oven allow for ventilation as the corpse burns. As the corpse burns, the two cremators sit near the oven, smoking, chatting, and drinking liquor that is provided by the dead person's family. The two men periodically go to the oven and check to see how the corpse is burning. If the corpse's head is hanging down, they put it upright to ensure a better incarnation. At lunch time, the deceased's family send someone with lunch for the cremators. Once the corpse has been cremated, the two cremators smash the oven to allow the ashes to cool in the open air.

underworld and is a very important part of the funeral ritual. If monks do not chant for the deceased, their soul will be angered and will send disease to the family and other villagers.

Corpses of those who died unnaturally⁷⁷ are put in common wooden boxes,⁷⁸ and cremated in a sheltered place. The corpse is normally sent to the cremation site in the afternoon because the ghost's harmful power is less at this time as compared to the morning when its power is much greater. It is believed that the spirit of someone who dies in such circumstances is naturally violent and may send disease to the family, villagers, and crops. Consequently, the corpse is usually cremated at the bottom of a gully or in a forest. Before the corpse is taken out of the gate, every household in the village lights a straw fire in front of their gate. While the straw is burnt, knives are stuck into a crack in the gate, with the tip pointing outwards. The gate is firmly locked, and remains so until after sunset that day to prevent the soul from entering a home to cause illness while the corpse is being taken for cremation.

When a woman learns that one of her parents has died, she immediately hangs a sieve on the wall over the courtyard gate and lights a straw fire there, thus preventing the spirit from coming into her house. It is thought that the spirits of a deceased parent may first visit their daughter's home, and send disease to her family.

Weddings

Purghan determine which zodiac signs make a suitable couple (most marriages are still arranged by parents in consultation with a *purghan*). If a couple marries without taking into account their zodiac signs, the marriage will be unsuccessful. The couple will divorce, become ill, or be childless.

The timing of the wedding is critical and is determined by a *purghan*. Calamities may befall the couple if a wrong date is chosen. The *purghan* also determines the time when the bride should leave her natal home. Either the groom's or the bride's family may determine this, though it is most commonly the groom's family. A *purghan* is also asked which zodiac sign should be avoided when the bride leaves her natal home for the groom's home, and also when she reaches the groom's home. Violating the *purghan's* order quickly causes disease and even death. The only way to cure such illnesses is to cut off a rooster's head and ransom the chicken's soul for the person's.

Construction

Before building a new courtyard gate, a *purghan* is consulted to determine an auspicious day for the construction, and which direction the gate should face. Choosing the correct direction is extremely important for the family, because a gate facing the wrong way allows evils to easily enter the home and bring illness to the family. A family that realizes that their gate faces the wrong direction immediately consults a *purghan* about moving the gate. A *purghan* is even consulted when building sheep pens.

⁷⁷ Examples of unnatural deaths include suicide from hanging and drowning, and death from infectious disease.

⁷⁸ A sedan-shaped coffin is used in the case of a natural death.

Temples and Nelshigang

Many Mongghul villages have their own temple⁷⁹ where the village *purghan* is enshrined. Elders often visit here to chant scriptures, burn incense, and kowtow. A temple keeper is selected by villagers or by the *purghan* to serve for one year.⁸⁰ People often go to the temple to ask *purghan* for help. For several days in summer, village elders gather in the temple to chant Buddhist scriptures to protect the village from diseases and protect the crops from hailstones.

Many homes have their own *nelshigang*. An oil lamp is lit in the *nelshigang* each night. Family members kowtow before the *purghan* and pray for the safety of the family. It is taboo for married women,⁸¹ swine, and men who have recently attended a funeral or who have been in a room where a woman is confined with her newborn, to enter the *nelshigang*. Families take very good care of the *nelshigang* as precaution against disease because the *purghan* may bring serious illness to a family if defiled.

Moving Earth

A *purghan* is consulted before moving earth. If soil surrounding the compound wall is moved it may cause their *purghan* or Xruu Aadee to send disease. If a graveyard site is selected without a *purghan*'s help, the family may become childless or poor.

Rdanggan Xjuzi 'Sacred Trees'⁸²

A tree planted at a crossroad, on a high slope, or on a hill behind a village is thought to suppress evil and protect the village from disease. Such trees are treated with much respect. It is taboo to break twigs or branches off such trees, or to cut them down. As a mark of respect and in recognition of the tree's sacredness, Mongghul villagers usually tie yellow or red pieces of cloth (in the past cotton cloth was used, but nowadays silk) to the tree. Such trees are usually willow.

Leng Gharigha 'Raising the Main Ceiling Beam'

A red piece of cloth is tied around the main ceiling beam when the roof is being constructed. Gold, silver, small-denomination notes, grain, sourdough, and butter are tied between the cloth and the beam. This protects the new home from evils and is put in place by the family head.

Before the main ceiling beam is raised, several baked oily breads, jujubes, and steamed buns are thrown from above the roof beam by the carpenter responsible for constructing the house. The family members rush to grab these as tokens of good fortune.

⁷⁹ Terms for temple include *laghang*, from the Tibetan *lha khang*; *muyiu*, probably from the Chinese, *miao*; and *smeen*, which is Mongghul and rarely used.

⁸⁰ The person is called *guangnii*. His main tasks in the temple are to burn incense and light lamps for the *purghan*, and to guard the temple at night. In addition, he assists villagers who come to consult the *purghan*.

⁸¹ Married women give birth, which is considered polluting to the *purghan*.

⁸² The tree is chosen by a *purghan* or is planted at a location according to a *purghan*'s instructions.

Zhobii 'Protective Wall'

Some Mongghul households build a wall about ten meters in front of their front compound wall. The wall is the same height as the gate, but wider. This wall protects the household from evils that may attempt to enter directly through the front gate. There is no special ritual for building the wall, but its location is usually selected by consulting a *purghan*.

Xadari 'Buddha Flag'

Many Mongghul homes erect a flag on which are printed Buddhist scriptures in Tibetan and a holy horse, on the top of the front gate wall, or in the courtyard on a post. It prevents evils from entering the house.

Binkang

Binkang are built at crossroads, at the center of villages, on hillsides, between villages, beside springs, and near temples. They are made of adobe bricks, in the form of a square pavilion surrounded by many pillars. There are two big holes on the front and back walls. Usually the whole village cooperates to build it under a *purghan's* guidance. Each pavilion is said to contain 100,000 clay Buddha images. *Binkang* prevent hailstorms and disease, and maintain peace in the surrounding area. Elderly people circumambulate *binkang*, praying and chanting, on the first and fifteenth days of every lunar month.

Suurishidi

According to the instructions of a Living Buddha or a *purghan*, *suurishidi* may be built at the center of a certain high slope to prevent hailstorms and disease. This pyramidal structure of adobe bricks or soil is usually about two meters high and about four meters diagonally across. People do not circumambulate it and the interior consists of only soil or bricks. Nothing is placed inside. An entire village usually cooperates to build a *suurishidi*.

Qurighula 'Locking'

Mongghul prefer boys to girls. When a boy falls ill, a *purghan* is invited to the home, and may order that a locked chain be placed around the boy's neck, in order to protect him. He may wear this chain until the age of seven or thirteen, when he is considered stronger and old enough to repel evils on his own.

Qigi Nukula 'Pierced Ears'

Until about the year 2000, the first-born son had both his ears pierced to receive protection against disease and ensure a long life. Usually the male infant's paternal grandmother pierced the ears on the twentieth day of the first lunar month after rubbing the earlobes to make them numb. She quickly jabbed the lobes with a needle or awl without prior sterilization. Small earrings were then put in the ears.

Taboos and Omens

Numerous taboos exist to prevent illness. Omens in dreams and elsewhere may indicate the onset of disease.

- On New Year's Eve, ancestral ghosts visit homes to ask for delicious food. During the night children are prohibited from sleeping. If a child sleeps, a ghost may weigh their body, and if the child is overweight, ghosts may take the soul of the child, who will die.
- Children who eat pork toes are susceptible to trembling hands later in life, e.g., while writing or sewing.
- Serious illness may befall those who pass a *lasizi*⁸³ but do not shout "*Lasizi kolog!* Sacred *lasizi!*" or who rest nearby. The same fate awaits those who defecate or urinate too near the *lasizi*.
- Playing with chopsticks results in starvation.
- Defecating on a road results in blisters on the eyelids.
- Washing hands or the face, kneeling to drink water with the mouth, or fishing from a spring, cause blindness.
- Lying down immediately after a meal harms the intestines.
- The moon cuts off the ears of those who point at or mention the moon.
- A crow's cry predicts that someone will die.
- If an owl hoots at a home, someone in that home will suffer illness or injury.
- Dreaming of snow, harvesting crops, or teeth falling out, indicates that someone's parents or grandparents will soon die.
- Dreaming that a person is wearing wonderful clothes means that the person will fall ill.
- A white-bearded old man seen in dreams is Xruu Aadee. This is a good omen indicating good health and prosperity.
- Tughuan Village residents are wary of the numbers three and nine because Tughuan people are considered descendants of Li Jinwang,⁸⁴ who once received orders to fight against an enemy in a distant location. He set off in the third lunar month, suffered defeat in the ninth lunar month, and returned home with only a few surviving soldiers. Afterward, he ordered his people to avoid undertaking important activities in the third and ninth lunar months. Tughuan people do not undertake large projects such as building houses or holding weddings during these months. If

⁸³ A square stone with a hollow base, rimmed by a low wooden railing. Numerous poles resembling arrows and spears are thrust into the *lasizi*, which are usually built atop mountains and consecrated to Heaven and various deities.

⁸⁴ Li Jinwang (856-908) was a famous general of the Tang Dynasty (618-907).

someone dies during those months, it is considered a bad omen and the corpse is not taken from the home until the next lunar month.

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES OF A MONGGHUL DOCTOR IN XINING

In 1993, I graduated from Qinghai University Affiliated Medical College and was assigned to work in the Emergency Department of Qinghai University Affiliated Hospital where I gave emergency care and provided rapid diagnosis in order to transfer patients to the appropriate departments for treatment. I transferred to the Orthopedics Department in the same hospital in 1997. During my ensuing years of practice, many Mongghul have contacted me for assistance in obtaining medical treatment for a variety of illnesses.

Xining is the location of the Qinghai Provincial Government and the seat of key political, economic, and educational institutions within the province. Qinghai's best-equipped and best-staffed hospitals are in Xining. Patients treated in Xining are generally thought to have a better chance of recovery. If treatment in Xining fails, patients and their families are usually convinced that the patient's life cannot be saved. However, they will feel relieved that they sought treatment in Xining's excellent modern hospitals. This encourages people to seek treatment in Xining.

I am the only surgeon in Xining who speaks Mongghul. Being spoken to in their own language is often a great support to Mongghul in the alien environs of Xining. Therefore, Mongghul are now able to receive significant support in Xining.⁸⁵ For many patients, their visit to the hospital is their first visit to Xining and hearing the Mongghul language reassures them. I try to make time to assist them during examinations, when buying medicine and paying their fees, and when checking in or being discharged. I try to ensure that they get correct diagnosis and treatment. Due to this, many Mongghul receive successful treatment in Xining, which encourages more Mongghul to seek treatment in Xining. Clear communication is an important part of effective treatment. I also patiently explain to patients and their families whatever is necessary. When I prescribe medicines, I give patients a detailed explanation about the disease's causes, symptoms, treatment, and prevention.

The majority of Mongghul patients are women, about one third of whom suffer from neurosis and headaches. They have often been treated in the home by a *purghan* and have taken medication prescribed by local clinics before making the sizeable investment required to visit Xining. Often, they are misdiagnosed in the countryside and may have been given inappropriate treatments, which can have serious side effects. An example of this is a woman (b. 1980) from Qazi Village (Donggou Township), who suffered from headaches for two years. She was repeatedly treated by a *purghan*. After this failed, she was treated in various medical clinics, but her condition remained unimproved. She then went to the Huzhu Epidemic Prevention Station, where a doctor asked her what the problem was. When she replied that she suffered from headaches, the doctor rashly diagnosed meningitis, and administered treatment accordingly. About half a year later her problem had worsened. She was finally brought to visit me in Xining, and she was soon diagnosed with nervous headaches.

Village women lack financial independence. Prior to 2000, the majority of women did not spend even one hundred RMB in a year. This is an important reason why many suffer neurosis and

⁸⁵ Including helping them to check into or leave the hospital, buy medicine, receive an examination in the laboratory, and get radiation therapy. If it is necessary that they stay in Xining for a few days, they can be helped to find a hotel. Many elderly Mongghul do not understand Modern Standard Chinese, and this assistance is particularly helpful for them.

nervous headaches. Another reason is that Mongghul women traditionally have a low position while residing in their husband's family's home where their mothers-in-law and husbands often mistreat them.

A woman from Jilog Village visited me with her husband, complaining that, in the previous month, she had had trouble swallowing food. She had become weak because she was not eating well. Her husband told me that she must have an incurable disease of the larynx and, if this was the case, he was not concerned for her welfare, and would merely wait for her to die. However, after an endoscopy, it became clear that she was suffering from gastritis. The neurologist also said that she suffered from neurosis.

Stomach cancer is common in Mongghul villages. Almost all stomach cancer occurs among males in their fifties and sixties.⁸⁶ Such people generally ignore such early warning signs as long-term stomach discomfort, difficulty swallowing food, and weight loss, because they know they cannot afford treatment. They thus delay seeking treatment and only consult *purghan* when their condition becomes severe. Most delay expensive medical expenditures until the cancer has spread to other parts of the body. Instead of having the operation, after diagnosis they return home to wait for death.

Cirrhosis of the liver is another common disease, caused by Hepatitis B and alcohol abuse. Liquor is an important element of traditional culture, particularly hospitality. Mongghul men drink frequently and in large amounts. The liquor may be distilled at home from highland barley, though it is more commonly bought from shops. Though many Mongghul men have Hepatitis B and should not drink alcohol, they often ignore this and continue to drink heavily, the liver rapidly deteriorates, and eventual liver failure causes death.

Eating infected pork may cause brain cysticercosis. This is very common among Mongghul, and was particularly so before 2003. Mongghul traditionally raised pigs inside their household compound, most of which had no toilets. Family members defecated in the pigsty, increasing the chance of infection by cysticercosis. Humans pass the tapeworm eggs in their feces. When swine eat human feces, the worm may pass to the pigs. When people eat infected pork, the tapeworm completes its life cycle. If a worm lodges in a human brain, it can cause convulsions and intracranial hypertension, resulting in headaches, nausea, and vomiting. Blindness may result if the tapeworm lodges in the eye.

During the early stages of cysticercosis, those infected are unaware they contracted the disease and attribute symptoms to other diseases, which they treat with such traditional methods as consulting a *purghan* or chanting scriptures. Medical treatment in a local clinic or hospital comes next, where treatment for headaches or convulsions may follow, but often not for the cysticercosis itself. Treatment expenses impoverish many families. Time passes, the patient's condition worsens, and treatment may then be sought in Xining, where CT and MRI enable a more precise diagnosis. Treatment in Xining is generally successful, but the expense⁸⁷ is such that money must be borrowed from relatives, friends, and villagers.

Poverty and a lack of education are the ultimate causes of cysticercosis. Every Mongghul household slaughters a fat pig in autumn and the pork is eaten during the New Year celebrations. Remaining pork is hung up to dry. If a family finds that their pork is infected with cysticercosis, not only will the immediate family eat the infected meat, but also their relatives and neighbors. The investment in the pig has been too great for people not to eat it. Elderly people in particular are unconcerned about eating the infected meat, because they believe that they will soon die.

There were several outbreaks of cysticercosis in Tughuan Village in 2000. Each involved more

⁸⁶ I have met very few Mongghul women who suffered from stomach cancer.

⁸⁷ About 10,000 RMB in 2008.

than twenty households becoming infected. One outbreak occurred when a family was building an extension to their house. The whole village turned out to help with the construction, and were fed infected pork. Because of the large number of people, the meat was not thoroughly cooked and, though people were aware that the meat was infected, they ate it anyway.

MEDICAL CARE IN HUZHU⁸⁸

A smallpox vaccination station was opened in Huzhu County in 1942, however, there were no specialized health-care agencies in Huzhu until a health-care department⁸⁹ was founded with four employees in September 1952. In 1984, it combined with the County's Family Planning Office⁹⁰ and was renamed the Health and Family Planning Bureau.⁹¹ It employed ten people.

Huzhu People's Hospital

The County's People's Clinic⁹² was founded on 15 May 1950. There were four employees and three rooms. It was renamed the County's People's Hospital⁹³ in 1956 and the number of employees increased to forty-two, including eleven biomedicine doctors and three Traditional Chinese Medicine doctors. The hospital featured departments of emergency medicine, surgery, gynecology and obstetrics, and Traditional Chinese Medicine; and a laboratory and an in-patient ward. There were thirty-one beds. In the same year, a simple outpatient building was built.

By 1985, the number of employees had increased to 145 and pediatric, stomatology, ophthalmology, and radiation departments had been added. Equipment at that time included an electrocardiograph, ultrasonic B machine, X-ray machine, a set of anesthesia machines, two operation tables, and two gastric lavage machines. The hospital also had two ambulances. Stomach, gallbladder, spleen, and kidney operations were done at the hospital at that time.⁹⁴

In 2005, Huzhu People's Hospital had eighteen departments, 200 patient beds, and 243 employees. About forty large and medium-scale pieces of medical equipment had been purchased, including a spiral CT (for head to foot scans), an X-ray machine (500mA), a C-arm machine for bone surgery operations, and an entirely automatic biochemistry analysis machine. The hospital treated approximately 80,000 outpatients annually. More than 5,300 patients were treated in hospital, of which about 1,300 patients received surgery.

Traditional Chinese Medicine Hospital

The Traditional Chinese Medicine Hospital was founded on 3 May 1985 with departments of medicine, pediatrics, orthopedics, fistula, acupuncture and moxibustion, laboratory, and X-ray. There was also an

⁸⁸ The information in this section is summarized from HTZX (1993) and QYW (1990).

⁸⁹ *Zhongdouju*.

⁹⁰ Jihua shengyu bangongshi.

⁹¹ Weisheng jihuashengyuju.

⁹² Xianrenmin weishengyuan.

⁹³ Xianrenmin wiyuan.

⁹⁴ This information was current in 1997.

ECG room. The hospital had fifty beds and fifty-two employees.⁹⁵

By 2005 there were ninety-five employees of whom sixty percent were Traditional Chinese Medicine staff. The hospital had ten departments, three medical technique departments, and two community health outpatient services. There was an X-ray machine (200mA), a set of electric gastroscopes, an entirely automatic blood cell analysis machine, an automatic biochemical analysis machine, and an ultrasound machine. There were approximately 60,000 outpatients annually. More than 1,400 patients were treated in hospital with eighty-one percent reported as being cured.

Clinics in Townships and Rural Regions

In 1952, the first clinic was founded in Shangzai⁹⁶ Township. From 1962 onwards, a succession of more than nineteen townships in Huzhu County opened medical clinics and by 1968, twenty-two townships in Huzhu had their own clinics. The major clinics were in Wushi, Donghe, Shatangchuan, Jiading, and Nanmengxia townships. There was a total of 167 health workers in Huzhu in 1985, and almost every town had its own clinic.

Patients were taken to clinics on wooden carts and later by tractor trailers. The distance from each village to their local clinic varies. For example, the clinic in Danma Town is situated at the center of a long, narrow valley. Villagers at either end of the valley must travel ten kilometers to the clinic. By cart, this distance took one to two hours; by tractor it takes approximately thirty minutes. There were four ambulances in Huzhu County in 2008 – two in Huzhu County Town at the Huzhu People's Hospital and one in each of Shuangshu and Donghe township towns.

The national government began implementing the Rural Cooperative Health Insurance Scheme in 2004⁹⁷ whereby each family member is required to annually contribute ten RMB to the cooperative. The cooperative then covers seventy percent of the cost for treatment in rural clinics and fifty percent of the cost for treatment in the county hospital. Ben Chengfang (b. 1979), a health care clinic worker in Dongshan Township Clinic, reported:

Infrastructure has recently been improved and medical equipment has been purchased, including ECG, ultrasonic B, and X-ray machines. Clinic medical staff now includes two doctors, one nurse, two public health specialists, and another two recent graduates. Due to improved clinic conditions, increased staff, and greater ease of access, an increasing number of villagers now use the clinic. On average, fifteen outpatients come to the clinic each day, and one patient will stay overnight in the clinic for treatment.

Mongghul Basic Health Televised Program⁹⁸

In 2000, the Canada Fund provided funds for the production of a Mongghul language health education program that was broadcast twice throughout Huzhu County. I wrote the script for the television program. In addition, one hundred booklets of the script were published in Mongghul and distributed free of charge to middle schools and health clinics. Fourteen copies of the program were made

⁹⁵ This information was current in 1997.

⁹⁶ This large, predominantly Han village was given township status in 1962, a change that was later reversed.

⁹⁷ Nongcun hezuo yiliao baoxian.

⁹⁸ See Limusishiden (2000) for more information.

available in VCD format to healthcare clinics serving Mongghul clientele in Huzhu County.

The program was well received by Mongghul in Huzhu County. At the time it was shown, it was rare to hear the Mongghul language on television, which created a larger audience. In terms of educational impact, women, who are mostly illiterate, particularly benefited from this program.

Due to the program's success and changing health needs, I again applied for funds from the Canada Fund in 2005. New material was included in the previous production including SARS, HIV/AIDS, and Bird Flu. Information on HIV/AIDS had become particularly urgent due to the rapid spread of the disease into remote areas due to transmission via migrant workers who contract the disease in urban centers. The program was again broadcast twice in Huzhu County.

CONCLUSION

Mongghul society and culture began experiencing rapid transformation in the early twenty-first century, including the practices and understanding of illness and health outlined above. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, most Mongghul children were receiving a Chinese language education, allowing greater access to information, including biomedical knowledge, through television, print media (including the internet), and radio. In this context, Mongghul oral culture and medical knowledge are less valued than Chinese language biomedical knowledge.

The program to Develop the Western Regions⁹⁹ has also influenced the transmission of Huzhu Mongghul medical knowledge. Transport facilities and communication technology have improved, and locals' income has risen. Ill people now have greater access to county and provincial level hospitals in Xining.

Practically all families now have television sets. Alien cultural expressions are rapidly replacing traditional songs, stories, dances, and the understanding of health and illness and other bodies of knowledge.

The local perception of the efficacy of traditional medicine has been influenced by family planning policy.¹⁰⁰ According to this policy, minority nationality couples may have two children, whereas large families were valued in the past. Due to the increased investment in smaller families, healthcare options for children are more closely scrutinized. Modern biomedicine is trusted more than traditional medicine.

Changing labor practices have also influenced the transmission of traditional understandings of health and illness. Young men and women in 2008 frequently leave Huzhu to perform migrant labor and return with new ideas, including experiences of seeking medical treatment within the biomedical system. Traditional concepts of illness and health, including consulting *purghan*, are increasingly regarded as superstitious.

The Rural Cooperative Health Insurance initiative described above has also increased people's reliance on and trust in the biomedical health system, further undermining traditional medical knowledge in Huzhu.

Under such circumstances, traditional practitioners are consulted much less often than before. By 2008, there were no *nenjengui*, *hguandii*, or *hguriden* in Mongghul areas and the majority of those consulting *purghan* were over forty years old.

⁹⁹ Xibu dakaifa.

¹⁰⁰ Jihua shengyu.

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'a འ	Ba bOng chos rje བ་བོང་ཆོས་རྒྱལ་
'Bras spungs འབྲས་སྤྲུངས་	Ba bzang བ་བཟང་
'Bras spungs Sgo mang འབྲས་སྤྲུངས་སྒོ་མང་	Ba rdzong ri lang བ་རྫོང་རི་ལང་
'Bri འབྲི	Ba yan rdzong བ་ཡན་རྫོང་
'cham འཆམ	Badaoshan 八达山
'don chos spyod འདོན་ཆོས་སྟོད་	bagua 八卦
'dul ba'i bkod gzhung rgyas pa འདུལ་བའི་བཀོད་གཞུང་རྒྱས་པ་	baihu 百户
'Dul ba'i mdo tsa ba འདུལ་བའི་མདོ་ཙ་བ་	Baima Si 白马寺
'Dzam gling spyi bsang འཛམ་གླིང་སྤྱི་བསང་	Baima Tianjiang 白马天将
'dzin grwa gong nas bzhed srol yod འཛིན་གྲལ་གོང་ནས་བཞེད་སྟོན་ཡོད་	Ban de rgyal བན་དེ་རྒྱལ་
'e ren འེ་རེན་	Ban Guo 班果
'Gag rdo rtags འགག་རྟོན་རྟགས་	Bang rgya བང་རྒྱ་
'gro འགོ་	bankang 板炕
'Jigs med ye shes grags pa འཇིགས་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྲགས་པ་	Bao Shiyuemei 鲍十月梅
'Ju lag འརྱ་ལག་	Bao Sibeihua 鲍四辈花
'tshogs gleng ཆོགས་གླེང་	Bao Yizhi 鲍义志
A Chaoyang 阿朝阳	Bao'an, Bonan 保安
A Jinlu 阿进录	baobei 宝贝
A khu 'Jigs med ཨ་ཁུ་འཇིགས་མེད་	Baojia 保家
A khu Blo gros ཨ་ཁུ་བློ་གྲོས་	Bazangou 巴藏沟
A lags Brag dkar tshang ཨ་ལགས་བྲག་དཀར་ཆང་	Bāzhōu/ Bazhou 巴州
A mdo ཨ་མདོ་	bca' yig chen mo བཅའ་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོ་
A myes Ba rdzong ཨ་མྱེས་བ་རྫོང་	Bcu ba'i lnga mchod བཅུ་པ་འི་ལྷ་མཆོད་
A myes Btsan rgod ཨ་མྱེས་བཙན་རྟོན་	Beijing 北京
A myes Gnyan chen ཨ་མྱེས་གཉན་ཆེན་	Ben Chengfang 贲成芳
A Rong 阿荣	Binkangghuali, Binkanggou 本康沟
Āchái 阿柴	bgro gleng བགོ་གླེང་
ahong 阿訇	Bi Yanjun 毕艳君
Alai 阿来	Bingling Si 炳灵寺
Alashan 阿拉善	binkang/ Binkang, 'bum khang འབྲུམ་ཁང་
An Liumei 安六梅	benkang 本康
Anjia 安家	Bis ba mi pham ngag dbang zla ba བིས་བ་མི་ཕམ་ངག་དབང་བླ་བ་
Āxià 阿夏	bka' བཀའ་
	bka' bcu བཀའ་བཅུ་

bka' rgya ma བཀའ་རྒྱུ་མ
Bka' rtse stong བཀའ་རྩེ་སྟོང་
Bkra shis 'bum 'khyil སྐྱེ་བྱང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འབྲུམ་འབྲིལ་
Bkra shis lhun po བཀྲ་ཤིས་ལྷུན་པོ་
Bkra shis sgo mang བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒོ་མང་
Bla brang བླ་བྱང་
Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil བླ་བྱང་བཀྲ་ཤིས་འབྲིལ་
bla ma བླ་མ་
bla ma dge skos rnams nyis thad ka thad ka'i
rgyug len pa dang / gsar du 'jog pa
sogs being bskul gyi do dam gang drag
byed བླ་མ་དགོས་སྒྲིལ་ཆུ་མེད་ཀྱི་དུ་དུ་ཀྱི་ལེན་པ་
དང་། གསར་དུ་འཛོལ་པ་སོགས་བཅིང་བསྐྱུལ་གྱི་དོན་མ་གང་དག
བྱེད།
bla ma gzhung las pa བླ་མ་གཞུང་ལས་པ་
bla ma khri pa བླ་མ་ཁྲི་པ་
bla spyi sogs khag bzhi བླ་སྤྱི་སོགས་ཁག་བཞི་
blo བློ་
Blo brtan rdo rje བློ་བརྟན་རྡོ་རྗེ་
Blo bzang 'jam pa'i tshul khirms, Wang
Khutugtu ལུང་རྒྱུ་ཐོག་ལྷ་མོ་བཟང་འཇམ་པའི་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་
Blo bzang bstan 'dzin བློ་བཟང་བསྟན་འཛིན་
Blo bzang dar rgyas rgya mtsho བློ་བཟང་དར་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
Blo bzang snyan grags བློ་བཟང་སྟན་གྲགས་
Blo bzang tshul khirms dar rgyas rgya mtsho
བློ་བཟང་ཚུལ་ཁྲིམས་དར་རྒྱལ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho བློ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
Blo bzang ye shes rgya mtsho, Lcang skya IV
ལུང་སྐུ་མོ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
blo rigs བློ་རིགས་
blo rtags gnyis བློ་རྟགས་གཉིས་
blon po བློན་པོ་
Bod ljongs spyi tshogs tshan rig khang chos
lugs zhib 'jug tshan pa'i 'bras spungs
dgon dkar chag rtsom sgrig tshogs
chung བོད་རྫོངས་སྤྱི་ཚོགས་ཚན་རིག་ཁང་ཚས་ལུགས་ཞིབ་

འཕྲུག་ཚན་པའི་འབྲས་སྤྱངས་དགོན་དཀར་ཆག་ཙོམ་སྤྲིག་ཚོགས་
ཆུང་
Bod skor བོད་སྐོར་
Bon བོན་
bong gu བོང་གུ་
Brag dgon zhabs drung འབྲག་དགོན་ཞབས་རྩུང་
brtsi bzhag བརྩི་བཞག་
bsam 'byed བསམ་འབྱེད་
Bsam blo khang tshan བསམ་བློ་ཁང་ཚན་
Bsam gtan sbyin pa བསམ་གཏན་སྤྱིན་པ་
bsang བསང་
bsang mchod བསང་མཚོད་
bsdus 'bring བསྐྱུས་འབྲིང་
bsdus chung བསྐྱུས་ཆུང་
bsdus grwa བསྐྱུས་གྲ་
bsdus grwa che chung བསྐྱུས་གྲ་ཆེ་ཆུང་
བསེ་
bsgro gleng བསྐྱོ་གླེང་
bshad grwa བཤད་གྲ་
bshad sgrub bstan pa'i byung gnas
བཤད་སྐྱབ་བསྟན་པའི་བྱུང་གནས་
bskang gso བསྐྱང་གསོ་
bsod btags legs pa བསོད་བཏགས་ལེགས་པ་
Bsod noms mgon po བསོད་ནམས་མགོན་པོ་
Bstan pa chos 'byor བསྟན་པ་ཚས་འབྱེར་
Bstan pa chos 'phel བསྟན་པ་ཚས་འཕེལ་
Bstan pa rgya mtsho བསྟན་པ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
btsan khang བཅེན་ཁང་
btsan par ma བཅེན་པར་མ་
btsan po བཅེན་པོ་
Btsan po Don grub rgya mtsho བཅེན་པོ་དོན་གྲུབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
Btsan po no mon han/ Btsan po no min han
བཅེན་པོ་ཚོ་མེན་ཏན་/ བཅེན་པོ་ཚོ་མིན་ཏན་
Btsan rgod བཅེན་རྟོད་
Bu su he བུ་སུ་ཧེ་
Bu'u hrin བུ་འུ་མིན་
Bya khyung བྱ་ཁྱུང་

Byams pa nor bu བྱམས་པ་ནོར་བུ
 Byang chub བྱང་ཆུབ
 Byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i dmar khrid thams
 cad mkhyen par bgrod pa'i bde lam
 བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་གྱི་རིམ་པའི་དམར་ཁྲིད་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྱེན་པར་བ
 སྐྱོད་པའི་བདེ་ལམ
 Byang du lhag pa བྱང་དུ་ལྷག་པ
 Byang rar du spen pa བྱང་རར་དུ་སྤྲོན་པ
 Byang thang བྱང་ཐང
 Bza' ri tshang བཟའ་རི་ཆང
 bzlog pa བཟླག་པ
 Cai Jingping 蔡金萍
 Cai Yong'e 蔡永峨
 Cha yas ཇམ་ཡས
 chab ril pa ཇམ་རིལ་པ
 Cháhǎnménggǔ'ér 察罕蒙古尔
 chang ba lu ཇམ་བ་ལུ
 Chang Ping 常平
 Chang'an 长安
 Chen Mei 陈镁
 chen po hor gyi yul ཆེན་པོ་རྟོར་གྱི་ཡུལ
 Chengde 承德
 Chenjia 陈家
 Chenjiaola 陈交拉
 Chileb, Chile 赤列
 Chinan Dewen Zanpu 赤南德温赞普
 Chinan Dewen 赤南德温
 Cho 'phrul ཇོ་འཕྲུལ
 Chongli 崇礼
 chos grwa ཇོས་གྲ་
 chos grwa ba/ pa ཇོས་གྲ་བ་/ པ
 chos lugs pa ཇོས་ལུགས་པ
 chos mtshams ཇོས་མཚམས
 chos r(w)a ཇོས་ར་ཇོས་རྒྱ
 chos rje ཇོས་རྗེ
 Chos skor ཇོས་སྐོར
 chos thog ཇོས་ཐོག

chos thog snga ma'i rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs chos
 thog rjes mar dka' ram ma gtog pa
 thams cad la len zhing ཇོས་ཐོགས་སྐུ་མའི་རྩིས་
 བཞག་གི་རྒྱུགས་ཇོས་ཐོག་རྗེས་མར་དཀའ་རམ་མ་གཏོག་པ་ཐམ
 ས་ཅད་ལ་ལོན་ཞིང
 chu bdag ཇུ་བདག
 Chu bzang ཇུ་བཟང
 Chuanhuang Erlang 川黄二郎
 Chuankou 川口
 Ci byed du song ཅི་བྱེད་དུ་སྦྱང
 Ci si khe ཅི་སི་ཁེ
 Cin ci dmag ཅིན་ཅི་དམག
 Co ne ཅོ་ནེ
 Cu'u hrin ཅུ་འུ་ཁྲིན
 Cuī Yǒnghóng 崔永红
 d+ha rma bu ti lba rta ལྷ་མ་བུ་ཏི་ལ་ར་རྟ་
 da das ད་དས
 Daban 达坂
 Dádá 达达
 Daihai 岱海
 Dala 达拉
 dam bca' དམ་བཅའ་
 dam bca' chen mo དམ་བཅའ་ཆེན་མོ
 Damajia 大马家
 Dámín 达民
 Dan tig དན་ཏིག
 dang po དང་པོ་
 Danma 丹麻
 Danyan, Luoergou 洛儿沟
 daoren 道人
 Dar rgya དར་རྒྱ
 Dar rgya ri lang དར་རྒྱ་རི་ལང
 Darkhan, dar han དར་ཀན་
 Dasi 大寺
 Dàtóng 大同
 Dàtōng, Datong 大通
 Datong he 大通河

Datongping 大墩坪
 dbu mdzad དབུ་མཛད
 dbus gtsang དབུས་གཙང་
 Dbyen bsdums དབྱེན་བསྐྱུམས་
 de'i 'phror gang len zhig tu long dgos babs la
 ltas nas longs དེའི་འཕྱར་གང་ལེན་ཞིག་ཏུ་ལོང་དགོས་
 བབས་ལ་ལྟས་ནས་ལོངས་
 Deng Sangmei 邓桑梅
 Deng Xinzhuangmei 邓新庄花
 Dengjia 邓家
 Dga' ldan དགའ་ལྷན་
 Dga' ldan byams pa gling
 དགོན་ལྷངས་དགའ་ལྷན་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་
 Dga' ldan pho brang དགའ་ལྷན་པོ་བྲང་
 dge ldan bstan 'bar ma'i dbu bskul
 ba དགེ་ལྷན་བསྐྱུང་འབར་མའི་དབུ་བསྐྱུལ་བ་
 Dge དགེ
 Dge ldan དགེ་ལྷན་
 Dge lugs དགེ་ལུགས་
 dge skos དགེ་སྐོས་
 dge skul དགེ་སྐུལ་
 Dgon lung དགོན་ལུང་ (Rgulang, Guolongsi 郭隆寺,
 Erh-ku-lung, Yu-ning, Youning 佑宁)
 Dgon lung bca' yig chen mo དགོན་ལུང་བཅའ་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོ་
 Dgon lung byams pa gling དགོན་ལུང་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་
 dgon pa spyi དགོན་པ་སྤྱི་
 dgon pa'i sgrigs 'og tu yod do cog དགོན་པའི་
 སྤྱིགས་འགྲུ་ཡོད་དོ་ཅོག་
 Dgra lha bcu gsum དག་ལྷ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་
 Dgu དགུ་
 Dgu chu དགུ་ཚུ་
 dīdī 的的
 dka' bcu rab 'byams pa དཀར་བར་རབ་བྱམས་པ་
 dka' bcu དཀར་བར་
 dka' rab 'byams དཀར་རབ་བྱམས་
 dka' ram དཀར་རམ་
 dka' rams དཀར་རམས་

dkar yol དཀར་ཡོལ་
 Dkon mchog bstan pa rab
 rgyas དཀོན་མཆོག་བསྐྱེད་པ་རབ་རྒྱས་
 Dkon mchog dar rgyas དཀོན་མཆོག་དར་རྒྱས་
 Dkon mchog skyabs དཀོན་མཆོག་སྐྱབས་
 dkyus དཀྱུས་
 Dmag dpon pi tsi ri lang དམག་དཔོན་པི་ཅི་རི་ལང་
 dmag rtsed དམག་རེད་
 Dmar gtsang དམར་གཙང་
 Dmar gtsang brag དམར་གཙང་བྲག་
 Dmar gtsang rta chen po དམར་གཙང་རྟ་ཆེན་པོ་
 Dme དམེ
 Dme shul དམེ་ཤུལ་
 Dngul rwa དངུལ་རྩ་
 Don 'grub འོན་འགྲུབ་
 don rtogs pa འོན་རྟོགས་པ་
 Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho འོན་ཡོད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
 Dong Yongxue 东永学
 Dongdanma 东丹麻
 Donggou 东沟
 Donghe 东和
 Dongshan 东山
 Dongxiang 东乡
 Dor bhi tis bang འོར་བྷི་ཏིས་བང་
 Dor rdo འོར་རྩོ་
 Dor sde འོར་སྡེ་
 Dor skad འོར་སྐད་
 Dor tis འོར་ཏིས་
 Dou Guanbaonuer 窦官保女儿
 Dòu Wényǔ 窦文语
 dou 斗
 Doujia 窦家
 Dpa' ris དཔའ་རིས་
 Dpa' ris ba དཔའ་རིས་བ་
 Dpa' ris tshe ring don 'grub དཔའ་རིས་ཆེན་འོར་དོན་འགྲུབ་
 Dpal chen stobs rgyas དཔལ་ཆེན་སྐྱབས་རྒྱས་
 Dpal ldan bkra shis དཔལ་ལྷན་བརྒྱ་ཤིས་

Dpal ldan dar rgyas དཔལ་ལྷན་དར་རྒྱས
 Dpal rtse rgyal དཔལ་རྩེ་རྒྱལ
 Dpal snar thang gi bca' yig 'dul khrims dngos
 brgya 'bar ba'i gzi 'od [dang / rwa
 sgreng / dgon lung byams pa gling
 dgon ma lag bcas kyi bca' yig]
 དཔལ་ལྷན་ཐང་གི་བཅའ་ཡིག་འདུལ་བྱིས་དངོས་བརྒྱ་འབར་བ
 འི་གཟེ་འོད་དང་། རུ་སྤྲང་། དགོན་ལུང་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་དགོན་མ་
 ལག་བཅས་ཀྱི་བཅའ་ཡིག་
 Dpung nge ri lang དཔུང་ངེ་རི་ལང
 Dri med yon tan འི་མེད་ཡོན་ཏན
 drug ba ལྷག་བ
 Dū Chángshùn 杜常顺
 Du Jinbaohua 杜金保花
 Duluun, Baiya 白崖
 Dung dkar ལྷུང་དཀར
 Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las
 ལྷུང་དཀར་ལྷོ་བཟང་འཕྲིན་ལས
 dur mchod ལྷུར་མཆོད
 Durishidii, Duoshidai 多士代
 dus chen ལྷུས་ཆེན
 Duwa, Duowa 多哇
 Dwags po ལྷགས་པོ
 E Shuangxihua, Nuo Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花
 E'érdān 额尔丹
 Ershisanhao 二十三号
 fala 法拉
 fan 幡
 Fangtuu, Qianbangou 前半沟
 Farishidin, Xingjia 星家
 Faxian 法显
 Fojiao 佛教
 Foorijang, Huoerjun 霍尔郡
 Fujia, Hulijia 胡李家
 g.yang གཡང
 g.yang 'bod གཡང་འབོད
 G.yang can rdo rje གཡང་རོད་རྩེ

g.yo sgyu'i sbyor ba གཡོ་སྐུའི་སྤྱོར་བ
 gab gzhangs གཁ་གཞགས
 gab gzhangs na thong གཁ་གཞགས་ན་ཐོང
 Gamaka 尕马卡
 Gan'gou, Gangou 甘沟
 ganda 干大
 Ganjia 甘家
 Gannan 甘南
 Gānsù, Gansu 甘肃
 Gansu xin tongzhi 甘肃新通志
 Gānsù-Qīnghǎi-Níngxià 甘肃-青海-宁夏
 Ganzhou 甘州
 Gaochang 高昌
 Gaodian 高店
 Gāozǔ 高祖
 Gar rtse sdong གར་རྩེ་སྤོང
 Gashari 尕沙日
 Gcan tsha གཅན་ཅཱ
 Gcan tsha གཅན་ཅཱ།, Jianzha 尖扎
 Gdugs dkar གདུགས་དཀར
 Ge sar གེ་སར
 Ge sar dmag gi rgyal po གེ་སར་དམག་གི་རྒྱལ་པོ
 Ge sar tshi me གེ་སར་ཅི་མེ
 Gélètè 格勒特
 Gèrìlètú 格日勒图
 Glang dar ma གླང་དར་མ
 gling bsres གླིང་བསྐྱེས
 gling bsres ba གླིང་བསྐྱེས་བ
 gling bsres dka' bcu གླིང་བསྐྱེས་དཀར་བཅུ
 Gling bza' thar mdo skyid གླིང་བཟང་ཐར་མདོ་སྐྱིད
 glo གློ
 Glu rol གླུ་རོལ
 gnas bdag གནས་བདག
 gnyan གཉན
 Gnyan chen གཉན་ཆེན
 Gnyan po smad cha dmar can གཉན་པོ་སྐད་ཆ་དམར་ཅན
 Gnyan po'i sgar thog གཉན་པོའི་སྐར་ཐོག

Gnyan thog གཡན་ཐོག
 Gnyan thog 'brog གཡན་ཐོག་འབྲོག
 Gnyan thog la kha གཡན་ཐོག་ལ་ཁ
 Gnyan thog mkhar གཡན་ཐོག་མཁར
 Go bu me khrin གོ་བུ་མེ་ཁྲིན་
 Go bu me tu hu sun khrin གོ་བུ་མེ་རུ་ཁུ་སུན་ཁྲིན་
 go thang གོ་ཐང
 Go'u sde གོ་འུ་སྡེ
 Gol su གོ་སུ་
 Gong sa rin po che གོང་ས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ
 gos sku གོས་སྐུ
 Gru kha'i གུ་ཁའི
 grwa 'gyed གྲལ་འགྲེད
 grwa rgyun གྲལ་རྒྱུན་
 grwa skor གྲལ་སྐོར་
 grwa tshang bla ma གྲལ་ཚང་བླ་མ
 Gsang bdag གསང་བདག
 Gsang phu གསང་ཕུ
 gsar གསར་
 Gser chen gzhung གསེར་ཆེན་གཞུང་
 Gser khog གསེར་ཁོག
 gser yig གསེར་ཡིག་
 gser yig chen mo'i mtshan byang
 གསེར་ཡིག་ཆེན་མོའི་མཆན་བྱང་
 gtam dpe གཏམ་དཔེ
 gtor ma གཏོར་མ་
 Guan Laoye 官老爷
 Guangdong 广东
 Guanting 官亭
 Guanyin Pusa 观音菩萨
 Guanzhong 官中
 Guide 贵德
 Guihuacheng 歸化成
 Guishe erjiang 龟蛇二将
 Guisui-Suiyuan 歸綏綏遠
 Guō'érduǒ 郭尔朵
 Guō'érduǒ dīdī' 郭尔朵的的

Guōlóng 郭隆
 Guomari 郭麻日
 Gushan 古鄯
 Gusiluo 哱廝囉
 Gyang bzhi གྱང་བཞི
 Gyen 'dzi ri lang གྱེན་འཛི་རི་ལང་
 Gyi ling mkhar གྱི་ལིང་མཁར་
 Gza' brgyad གཙལ་བརྒྱད་
 Gza' mchog གཙལ་མཆོག་
 gzhung las pa གཞུང་ལས་པ་
 Ha Mingzong 哈明宗
 Hai Tao 海濤
 Haidong 海东
 Hainan 海南
 Haixi 海西
 Haja, Hajia 哈家
 Halazhigou 哈拉直沟
 Hami 哈密
 Hàn, Han 汉
 Handi, Hantai 旱台
 Hanyu Pinyin 汉语拼音
 Haomen he 浩門河
 Har gdong khang tshan ཧར་གདོང་ཁང་ཚན་
 Hara Bulog, Heiguan 黑泉
 Hé-Huáng 河湟
 Hé'ér 合儿
 Hè'ér 贺尔
 Hebei 河北
 Heidinggou 黑顶沟
 Heihu Linggunang 黑虎灵光
 Heima Zushi 黑马祖师
 Heishui 黑水
 Hejia 何家
 Helang Yexian 何朗业贤¹
 Henan 河南

¹ [A Tibetan name, thus the Chinese characters are conjectural.]

Heqing 合庆
 Heyan 河沿
 Hézhōu 河州
 Hgarilang, Huangcaogou 黄草沟
 Hgunbin, Kumbum, Sku 'bum Byams pa gling
 སྐུ་འབྲུམ་བྱུང་མ་པ་སྒྲིང་, Ta'er 塔尔
 honghua 宏化
 Hongnai 红崖
 Hóngwǔ, Hongwu 洪武
 Hóngyá 红崖
 Hongyazigou 红崖子沟
 hor, Hor ཁོར
 Hor bza' hu sun khrin ཁོར་བཟའ་ཏུ་སྐྱུ་མ་ཁྲིན
 hor chen ཁོར་ཆེན
 Hor dor nag po ཁོར་དོར་ནག་པོ་
 Hor dor rta ཁོར་དོར་རྟ་
 Hor dor rta nag po gnyan po smad char dmar
 can ཁོར་དོར་རྟ་ནག་པོ་གཉན་པོ་སྐྱེད་ཆར་དམར་ཅན
 Hor gnyan po mung khe gan ཁོར་གཉན་པོ་མུང་ཁེ་གན
 Hor nag ཁོར་ནག
 Hor o chi go bu me thu me lun
 ཁོར་ཨ་ཆི་གོ་བུ་མེ་ཐུ་མེ་ལུང་
 Hor rgya ཁོར་རྒྱ་
 hor rgyal ཁོར་རྒྱལ་
 Hor se chen ཁོར་སེ་ཆེན
 Hor spun zla ཁོར་སྤུན་བླ་
 Hor tho lung ཁོར་ཐོ་ལུང་
 Hu Fang 胡芳
 Hu su ho ཏུ་སུ་ཁོ་
 Hu Yanhong 胡艳红
 Huáng 惶
 Huangdi 皇帝
 Huangfan 黄番
 Huangnan 黄南
 Huangnan zangzu zizhizhou tongjiju 黄南藏族
 自治州统计局
 Huangshui 湟水

Huangsi 黄寺
 Huangyuan 湟源
 Huangzhong 湟中
 Huárè 华热
 Huarin, Hualin 桦林
 Huhehaote 呼和浩特
 Hui 回
 Hulijia 胡李家
 Hún 浑
 Hunan 湖南
 Huolu Jiangjun 火炉将军
 Húsījǐng 胡斯井
 Hùzhù, Huzhu 互助
 Huzhu Tuzu zizhi xian 互助土族自治县
 Hxin, Hashi 哈什
 ja khang རྒྱ་ཁང་
 Janba, Wangjia 汪家
 Janba Taiga, Zhanjiatai 湛家台
 Jangja, Zhangjia 张家
 Jangwarima, Yatou 崖头
 Jí 吉
 Jiading 加定
 Jiajia 贾加
 Jiang Kexin 姜可欣
 Jiangsu 江苏
 Jianwen 建文
 Jiansha 尖扎
 jiashen 家神
 Jidi Majia 吉狄马加
 Jielong 结龙
 Jihua shengyu 计划生育
 jihua shengyu bangongshi 计划生育办公室
 Jiirinbuqii, Tsong kha pa རྩོད་ཁུ་པ་, Zongkaba 宗喀
 巴
 Jilog, Jiaoluo 角落
 jìn 市斤
 Jīn Yù 金玉

Jinbu, Junbu 军部
 Jindan dao 金丹道
 Jingning 静宁
 Jinzimei 金子梅
 Jishi 积石
 Jiutian Shengmu Niangniang 九天圣母娘娘
 jo bo ཇོ་བོ
 juan 卷
 Jughuari, Zhuoke 桌科
 ka bcu ཀ་བུ་
 Ka dar skyid ཀ་དར་སྒྱིད་
 ka par nas bshad pa ཀ་པར་ནས་བཤད་པ་
 Ka rab ཀ་རབ་
 Kaile meiyu 开了没有
 Kailu Jiangjun 开路将军
 Kan lho ཀན་ལྷོ་
 Kanchow, Ganzhou 赣州
 kang 炕
 Kāngxī, Kangxi 康熙
 Kemuchuer Ling, Kemuchu Ling 克木楚岭
 kha btags ཁ་བཏགས།, hada 哈达
 Khams ཁམས་
 Khenpo Ngawang Dorjee མཁན་པོ་དགའ་དབང་དོར་ཇེ།
 khri ba bla brang ཁྲི་བ་བླ་བརྟན་
 khrid ཁྲིད་
 Khu lung ལུ་ལུང་
 khyad chos ལྟན་ཆོས་
 Khyod gang la song rgyu ལྟོད་གང་ལ་སྟོང་རྒྱུ་
 Khyod kha sang gang du song ལྟོད་ཁ་སང་གང་དུ་སྟོང་
 kla glo ལྷ་གློ་
 kla klo ལྷ་ལྷོ་
 Klu 'bum tshe ring ལུ་བུ་མ་ཆེ་རིང་
 Klu rol ལུ་རོལ་
 klu rtsed ལུ་རྩེད་
 Klu'i ལུ་འི་
 klu'u ri ལུ་འུ་རི་
 Ko'u mol ri lang ཀོ་འུ་མོལ་རི་ལང་

Kong Lingling 孔林林
 Krang co hrin ཀླང་ཙོ་མྲིན་
 Ku Yingchunlan 库迎春兰
 Kun dga' bkra shis ཀུན་དགའ་བརྒྱ་ཤེས་
 kun slong ཀུན་སྟོང་
 Kuòduān 阔端
 Kuxin, Huzichang 胡子场
 kyus ལུས་
 La ལ་
 La Erhua 喇二花
 La Nuer, Ernü 喇二女
 lab rtse ལབ་རྩེ་
 Lailiao meiyu 来了没有
 Lajia 喇家
 Lama Tangseng, Xuanzang 玄奘
 Lamaguan 喇嘛官
 Langja, Langjia 浪加
 Lanzhou 兰州
 Lǎoyā 老鸦
 Laoyeshan 老爷山
 laozher 老者
 Laozhuang 老庄
 Lashizi Kayari (Heidinggou 黑沟顶)
 Lawa 拉哇
 lba ལཔ་
 Lcags mo tshe ring ལཱ་གས་མོ་ཆེ་རིང་
 Lcang skya ལཱ་སྐལ་
 Lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje ལཱ་སྐལ་རོལ་པའི་རྡོ་རྗེ་
 Ledu 乐都
 Lha babs ལྷ་བབས་
 Lha btsun Mthu stobs nyi ma ལྷ་བཙུན་མཐུ་སྟོབས་ཉི་མ་
 lha bzo ba ལྷ་བཙོ་བ་
 Lha mo skyid ལྷ་མོ་སྒྱིད་
 lha pa, Lha pa ལྷ་པ་
 lha rams pa ལྷ་རམས་པ་
 lha rams pa dge bshes ལྷ་རམས་པ་དགེ་བཤེས་
 lha rtsed ལྷ་རྩེད་

Lha sa ལ་ས
 lha'i sgrub thabs ལྷའི་སྒྲུབ་ཐབས
 Lho nub du skra gcan ལྷོ་ལུབ་དུ་སྐྱ་གཙན
 Lhor phur bu ལྷོར་ཕུར་བུ
 Lǐ 李
 li 里
 Li Baoshou 李保寿
 Li Cunxiao 李存孝
 Li Dechun 李得春
 Li Fumei 李富梅
 Li Jinwang 李晉王 AKA, Li Keyong 李克用
 Li Jinwang 李晋王
 Li Lizong 李立遵
 Li Peng 李鹏
 Li Qingchuan 李青川
 Li Xiande 李贤德
 Li Xinghua 李兴花
 Li Yaozu 李耀祖
 Li Yuanhao 李元昊
 Li yul ལི་ཡུལ
 Li Zhanguo 李占国
 Li Zhanzhong 李占忠
 Li Zhonglin 李钟霖
 Li Zhuoma 李卓玛
 liang 兩
 Liangcheng 凉成
 Liángzhōu, Liangzhou 凉州
 Liǎodōng 辽东
 Liaoning 辽宁, 遼寧
 libai si 礼拜寺
 Lijia 李家
 Limusishiden, Li Dechun 李得春
 Lingle Huangdi 领乐皇帝
 Lintao 临洮
 Liu Daxian 刘大先
 Liuja, Liujia 柳家
 Lizong 立遵

lkugs pa ལུགས་པ
 lnga ལྔ
 Lnga mchod ལྔ་མཚན
 Lo brgya ལོ་བརྒྱ
 Lo lha ལོ་ལྷ
 Lo ལོ
 Lo sar ལོ་སར
 long ལོང
 Long Deli 隆德里
 longhu 龙壺
 Lóngshuò 龙朔
 Longwang 龙王
 Longwang duo de difang Hezhou, Niangniang
 duo de difang Xining 龙王多的地方河州,
 娘娘多的地方西宁
 Lóngwù 隆务
 Longwu 隆吾
 lta-tchinbu Лта-чинбу
 Lǔ 魯
 Lu ba go go ལུ་བ་གོ་གོ
 Lu Biansheng, Luban Shengren 鲁班圣人
 Lü Jinlianmei 吕金莲梅
 Lü Shengshou 吕生寿
 Lü Yingqing 吕英青
 Lu Zhankui 鲁占奎
 Luantashi, Luanshitou 乱石头
 lugs srol ལུགས་སྒོལ
 Lun hu khrin ལུན་ཀུ་ཁྲིན
 lung rigs ལུང་རིགས
 Lǔshījiā 鲁失夹
 Ma Fanglan 马芳兰
 Ma Guangxing 马光星
 Ma Guorui 马国瑞
 Ma gzhi dmag མ་གཞི་དམག
 Ma Hanme, Ma Hanmo 马罕莫
 Ma Jun 马钧
 Ma ling yis མ་ལིང་ཡིས

Ma Luguya 马录古亚
 Ma ni skad ci, Manikacha མ་ནི་སྐད་ཅི་མ་མ་ཀའ་ཅེ་
 Ma Qiuchen 马秋晨
ma song མ་སོང་
 Ma Taohua 马桃花
 Ma Tianxi 马天喜
 Ma Wei 马伟
 Ma Xiaochen 马晓晨
 Ma Xiuying 马秀英
 Ma Youyi 马有义
 Ma Yulan 马玉澜
 Ma Zhan'ao 马占鳌
 Majia 马家
 Majiazi 马家子
man ngag མཎ་ངག་
mao 毛
 Mao Qiaohui 毛巧晖
 Maohebu 毛荷堡
 Maqang Tugun, Baiya 白崖
mchod pa མཚོད་པ་
 Mchod rten dkar po མཚོད་རྟེན་དཀར་པོ་
 Mchog sgrub mtsho མཚོག་སྒྲུབ་མཚོ་
 Mdo མདོ་
 Mdo smad མདོ་སྐད་
Mdo smad chos byung མདོ་སྐད་ཆོས་འབྱུང་
 mdo smad kyi bshad grwa yongs kyi gtso bo
 dgon lung gi chos sde chen po མདོ་སྐད་རྒྱ་
 བཤད་གྲ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་གཙོ་བོ་དགོན་ལུང་གི་ཆོས་སྡེ་ཆེན་པོ་
mdzod btags མཛོད་བརྟགས་
mdzod thag མཛོད་ཐག་
 Ménggǔ'ér 蒙古尔
 Mengudzhu Менгү, джу, möngke zuu,
 muivggae jiu
 Menyuan 门源
 Mgar stong rtsan མགར་སྟོང་རྩ་རྒྱ
 Mgar stong rtsan yul zung མགར་སྟོང་རྩ་རྒྱལ་རྒྱུད་
 Mgo 'dug tsho ba མགོ་འདུག་ཚོ་བ་

Mgo log མགོ་ལོག་
mi tshan མི་ཚན་
 miao 庙
 Miaochuan 邈川
 Mín 岷
ming btags byed mi མིང་བརྟགས་བྱེད་མི་
ming btags pa མིང་བརྟགས་པ་
ming btags zur pa མིང་བརྟགས་རུར་པ་
 Míng, Míng 明
 Míng-Qīng 明清
 Mínhé, Minhe 民和
 Minzhu 民主
minzu 民族
mjug gi 'bul dar མཇུག་གི་འབྲུལ་དར་
mngon rtogs rgyan མངོན་རྟོགས་རྒྱན་
mnyam med rje btsun tsong kha pa chen pos
 mdzad pa'i byang chub lam rim chen
 mo'i dka' ba'i gnad rnams mchan bu
 bzhi'i sgo nas legs par bshad pa theg
 chen lam gyi gsal sgron མཉམ་མེད་རྩི་བཙུན་
 ཆོན་ལ་པ་ཆེན་པོས་མཛད་པའི་བྱང་ཆུབ་ལམ་རིམ་ཆེན་མོའི་དཀ
 ལ་བའི་གནད་རྒྱུས་མཆན་བྱ་བཞིའི་སྟོན་མཁའ་ལགས་པར་བཤད་
 པ་ཐེག་ཆེན་ལམ་གྱི་གསལ་
mo ba མོ་བ་
 Mo Fangxia 莫芳霞
 Mo Zicai 莫自才
modaya 猫大爷
mtshan nyid bshad pa'i grwa མཚན་ཉིད་བཤད་པའི་གྲ་
 Mtsho sngon མཚོ་སྒོན་
 Mtsho sngon po མཚོ་སྒོན་པོ་
 Mtsho snying མཚོ་སྙིང་
mu 亩
 Myang 'dus མུང་འདུས་
 Na Chaoqing 那朝庆
na re ན་རེ་
 Na thong ན་ཐོང་

Na tsha go bkal mtshams gcod

ན་ཚ་གོ་བསྐལ་མཚམས་གཅོད

Nag chu ནག་ཚུ,

Nag chu'i kha ནག་ཚུའི་ཁ

nag po [spyod pa] skor gsum

ནག་པོ་སྤྱོད་པ་སྒྲོར་གསུམ

Nag po skor gsum ནག་པོ་སྒྲོར་གསུམ

nang chen ནང་ཆེན

nang so ནང་སོ

Nang sog ནང་སོག

Nanjia, Anjia 安家

Nanjiaterghai, Anjiatou 安家头

Nanmengxia 南门峡

Nanmuge 南木哥

Nansan, Nanshan 南山

Nanshan 南山

nenjengui, yanjiaogui 眼见鬼

Nga a khu tshang la 'gro nas ང་ཨ་ཁུ་ཚང་ལ་འགོ་ནས

Nga a khu tshang la song nas ང་ཨ་ཁུ་ཚང་ལ་སོང་ནས

Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya

mtsho ངག་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མཚོ

Ngag dbang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho

ངག་དབང་མཁྱེན་རབ་རྒྱ་མཚོ

Nian Gengyao 年羹尧

Nianbo 碾伯

Nianduhu 年都乎

Niangniang 娘娘

Nijia 吕家

Ningbo fu qianhu shouyu 宁波副千户守禦

Níngxia, Ningxia 宁夏

Niuqi, Liushuigou 流水沟

Niutou Wang 牛头王

no mon han མོ་མོན་ཀན

Nongchang 农场

Nongcun hezuo yiliao baoxian 农村合作医疗保

险

Nor lda bkra shis རོ་ལ་བླ་བཀྲ་ཤིས་

Nub byang du nyi ma ལུབ་བྱང་དུ་ཉི་མ

Nub du zla ba ལུབ་དུ་བླ་བ

Nuo Shuangxihua, E Shuangxihua 鄂双喜花

Nuojia, Ejia 鄂家

nye 'brel ཉེ་འབྲེལ

Nye sring ཉེ་སྤྱིང

Nyi ma 'dzin ཉི་མ་འཛིན

Nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya

mtsho ཉི་མ་འཛིན་ངག་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མཚོ

O chi go bu me thu me lun ཨོ་ཆི་གོ་བུ་མེ་ཐུ་མེ་ལུན

O chi hu sun ཨོ་ཆི་ཁུ་སུན

O hu me tu ཨོ་ཁུ་མེ་ཐུ

pA ren པཱ་རེན

Pad spungs པད་སྤུངས

Pe dpa' ri lang པེ་དཔའ་རི་ལང

Pe hu པེ་ཁུ

Pen hwa ri lang པེན་ཁྱ་རི་ལང

Per nyi ma 'dzin པེར་ཉི་མ་འཛིན

Per nyi ma 'dzin Ngag dbang legs bshad rgya

mtsho པེར་ཉི་མ་འཛིན་ངག་དབང་ལེགས་བཤད་རྒྱ་མཚོ

pha rol bdud sde'i dpung tshogs

ཕ་རོལ་བདུད་སྡེའི་དཔུང་ཚོགས་

phan theb པན་ཐེབ

phas thi པས་ཐི

pho brang ཕོ་བྲང

phrug ཕུག

phug tshangs kyi gtam ཕུག་ཚངས་ཀྱི་གཏམ

Phun tshogs ཕུན་ཚོགས་

phyag ཕུག

phying ཕྱིང

Phyug rtse chos rje ཕུག་རུ་ཅེ་ཆོས་རྗེ

Pin rkya tshi me པིན་རྒྱ་ཚེ་མེ

Ping'an 平安

Pinyin 汉语

po tho པོ་ཐོ

po ti lnga པོ་ཏི་ལྷ་

Pochu mixín 破除迷信

Potala པོ་ཏ་ལ
 Puba 普巴
 Pudang, Pudonggou 普洞沟
 Pudong 浦东
 Qaghuali, Chaergou 岔儿沟
 Qangsa, Chunsha 春沙
 Qazi, Qiazi 卡子
 Qi 祁
 Qi Huimin 祁慧民
 Qi Jianqing 祁建青
 Qi Tusi 祁土司
 Qi Wenlan 祁文兰
 Qi Zhengxian 祁正贤
 Qianhe 前河
 qiānhùsuǒ 千户所
 Qianjin 前进
 Qiānlóng, Qianlong 乾隆
 Qiao Dongmei 乔冬梅
 Qiao Shenghua 乔生华
 Qighaan Dawa, Baiyahe 白牙合
 Qijia 祁家
 Qijia Laoye 祁家老爷
 Qílián, Qilian 祁连
 Qiliao! Sanliao! 去了! 散了!
 Qín 秦
 Qīng, Qing 清
 Qingdao 青岛
 Qinghai yiyao weishengzhi 青海医药卫生志
 Qīnghǎi, Qinghai 青海
 Qinghaihua 青海话
 Qinghaisheng Fangyizhan 青海省防疫站
 qingkuo 青稞
 Qinglong Tianzi 青龙天子
 Qingming 清明
 Qingyun 庆云
 Quurisang Srishiji, Huayuansi 花园寺
 Ra 𑀢

rab 'byams རབ་འབྲམས
 rab 'byams pa རབ་འབྲམས་པ
 Rab brtan rdo rje རབ་བརྟན་རྡོ་རྗེ
 Rab kha རབ་ཁ་
 Rab kha gru gtong རབ་ཁ་གུ་གཏོང
 rang bzhin gnas rigs རང་བཞིན་གནས་རིགས
 rang nyid rgyal ba རང་ཉིད་རྒྱལ་བ
 Rangdin, Longdong 龙东
 Rangghuali, Longyi 龙一
 rangpi, niangpi 酿皮
 Rar du pa sang རར་དུ་པ་སང
 Rar lhor mig dmar རར་ལྷོ་རིག་དམར
 rdo ram pa རྡོ་རམ་པ
 Rdo rje 'jigs byed རྡོ་རྗེ་འཇིགས་བྱེད
 Rdo rje gdan རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན
 rdung rgyug རུང་རྒྱུག
 Reb gong རེབ་གོང
 Reb gong gnyan thog རེབ་གོང་གཉན་ཐོག
 Reb gong rgan rgya རེབ་གོང་རྒྱ་རྒྱ
 ren po che, rnbuqii, renboqie 仁波切
 ren 人
 Renminbi 人民币
 Rgan rgya རྒྱ་རྒྱ
 Rgulang, Dgon lung ར་གོ་ལུང་, Erh-ku-lung,
 Guolong 郭隆, Yu-ning, Youning 佑宁
 rgya རྒྱ
 Rgya bza' kong jo རྒྱ་བཟའ་ཀོང་འོ
 Rgya gar rdo rje gdan རྒྱ་གར་རྡོ་རྗེ་གདན
 Rgya hor རྒྱ་ཧོར
 Rgya tshang ma རྒྱ་ཙང་མ
 Rgyal sras རྒྱལ་སྐྱས
 Rgyal sras 'Jigs med ye shes grags
 pa རྒྱལ་སྐྱས་འཇིགས་མེད་ཡེ་ཤེས་གཤམ་པ
 Rgyal sras Don yod chos kyi rgya mtsho
 རྒྱལ་སྐྱས་དོན་ཡོད་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྒྱ་མཚོ
 Rgyal sras rin po che རྒྱལ་སྐྱས་རིན་པོ་ཆེ
 rgyug རྒྱུག

rgyugs རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་
rgyugs len pa རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་པ་
Ri lang རི་ལང་
Ri lang bcu gnyis རི་ལང་བཅུ་གཉིས་
Ri stag རི་སྟག་
rigs རིགས་
rigs lam pa རིགས་ལམ་པ་
rigs lung byed mkhan རིགས་ལུང་བྱེད་མཁན་
Rin chen sgrol ma རིན་ཆེན་སྒྲོལ་མ་
ris med རིས་མེད་
Riyue Dalang 日月大郎
rjes gnang རྟེན་གྲངས་
rka རྒྱལ་
Rka gsar རྒྱལ་གསར་
Rka gsar dgon dga' ldan 'dus bzang chos gling
 རྒྱལ་གསར་དགོན་དགའ་ལྷན་འདུས་བཟང་ཆོས་གླིང་
rlung rta རླུང་རྟ་
Rma chu རྩ་ཆུ་
Rma chu'i rab kha dngul ri'i sa bzang gri spyod
 རྩ་ཆུའི་རབ་ཁམ་དངུལ་རིའི་ས་བཟང་གྲི་སྦྱོད་རབ་ཁམ་
Rma lho རྩ་ལྷོ་
RMB, Renminbi 人民币
rnam 'grel རྩམ་འགྲེལ་
rnam gzhang རྩམ་གཞག་
Rnam rgyal རྩམ་རྒྱལ་
rnbuqii, rin po che རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ *ren po che, renboqie*
 仁波切
Rong bo རོང་བོ་
Rong bo nang so རོང་བོ་ནང་སོ་
Rong zom རོང་ཟོམ་
ronghua fugui 荣华富贵
Rta 'gying རྟ་འགྱིང་
rta chen po རྟ་ཆེན་པོ་
Rta mgrin རྟ་མགྲིན་
rtag gsal khyab རྟག་གསལ་ཁྱེད་
rtsam pa རུམ་པ་
Rtse khog རེ་ཁོག་

rtsis bzhag gi rgyugs རེ་ས་བཞག་གི་རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་
rtsod grwa རྟོད་གྲུ་
rtsod zla རྟོད་བླ་
sa ས་
sa bdag ས་བདག་
Sa bdag sog po ri lang ས་བདག་སོག་པོ་རི་ལང་
sa dpyad pa ས་དཔྱད་པ་
Salar, Sala 撒拉
San'erjia 三二家
Sānchuān, Sanchuan 三川
Sānchuān Tüzú 三川土族
Sānchuānsìlǐ 三川四里
Sandaohe 三道河
Sangjie Renqian 桑杰仁谦
Sde ba chos rje སྡེ་བ་ཆོས་རྟེན་
Sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho
 སྡེ་སྦྱིད་སངས་རྒྱས་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་
Se ra སེ་ར་
Sems mtsho སེམས་མཚོ་
Sems nyid, sems nyid སེམས་ཉིད་
Sems nyid sprul sku bstan 'dzin 'phrin las rgya
 སེམས་ཉིད་སྤྲུལ་སྦུ་བསྟན་འཛིན་འཕྱིན་ལས་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་
sen chugs སེན་ཆུགས་
Seng ge gshong སེང་གེ་གཤོང་
sgar སྐར་
Sgar thog སྐར་ཐོག་
Sgo dmar སྐོ་དམར་
Sgo dmar G.yang mo tshe ring སྐོ་དམར་གཡང་མོ་ཆེ་རིང་
Sgo mang སྐོ་མང་
Sgo mang grwa tshang སྐོ་མང་གྲུ་ཚང་
Sgrol ma སྒྲོལ་མ་
sgrub sde སྒྲུབ་སྡེ་
Sha bar chos rje ས་བར་ཆོས་རྟེན་
Sha bar nang so ས་བར་ནང་སོ་
Sha Delin 沙德林
Sha Heshang 沙和尚
Shaanxi, Shǎnxī 陕西

shags ngan ཤགས་ངན
 Shahai 沙海
 Shānběi 陕北
 Shancheng 山城
 Shandong 山东
 Shanghai 上海
 Shangzhai 上寨
 Shānxī, Shanxi 山西
 Shanzhaojia 山赵家
 Shanzhou 鄯州
 Shao Yundong 邵雲東
 Shaowa 勺哇
 Shar Bla ma ཤར་བླ་མ
shar ཤར
 Shatangchuan 沙塘川
 Shdanbasang, Shijiamoni 释迦摩尼
 Shdangja, Dongjia 东家
 Shdara Tang, Dalantan 达拉滩
shen jian 神剑
shenfu 神甫
sheng 升
 Shenjiao 教神
sheqi 蛇旗
 Shgeayili, Dazhuang 大庄
 Shi Cunwu 师存武
 Shi'er Wei Zushi 十二位祖师
shibei 石碑
 Shina 史纳
 Shing bza' ཤིང་བཟའ
 Shíyá 石崖
sho ma ཤོ་མ
shor ba ཤོར་བ
shuang xi 双喜
 Shuangma Tongzi 双马童子
 Shuangshu 双树
 Shuilian Dong 水帘洞
 Shuimogou 水磨沟

Sichuan 四川
skabs bzhi pa སྐབས་བཞི་པ
 Skal bzang thub bstan 'phrin las rgya mtsho
 སྐལ་བཟང་ཐུབ་བསྟན་འཕྲིན་ལས་བླ་མཚོ
 Skal bzang ye shes dar rgyas སྐལ་བཟང་ཡེ་ཤེས་དར་རྒྱས
 Skal ldan rgya mtsho སྐལ་ལྷན་བླ་མཚོ
 Sko tshi me སྐོ་ཙེ་མེ
skor ru སྐོར་རུ
skra ka སྐ་ཀ
skra phab སྐ་ཕབ
 Sku 'bum སྐུ་འབུམ
 Sku 'bum byams pa gling སྐུ་འབུམ་བྱམས་པ་གླིང་
 Skya rgya, Jiajia 贾加
 Skyabs 'gro སྐལ་བས་འགོ
 Skyid shod sprul sku སྐྱིད་ཤོད་སྐུ་སྐུ
skyor སྐྱོར
skyor dpon སྐྱོར་དཔོན
 Smad pa སྐད་པ
smad phyogs སྐད་ཕྱོགས
smeen, Sier 寺尔
 Smeen, Ximi 西米
 Smin grol སྐྱེན་གྲོལ
 Smin grol no min han སྐྱེན་གྲོལ་ནོ་མིན་ཏན
 Smon lam, smon lam སྐྱོན་ལམ
smyung gnas སྐྱུང་གནས
sna tshogs 'di སྐ་ཚགས་འདི
sngags 'chang སྐགས་འཆང
sngags pa སྐགས་པ
 Snying bo rgyal སྐྱིང་བོ་རྒྱལ
 Snying mo སྐྱིང་མོ
 Snying rje tshogs pa སྐྱིང་རྗེ་ཚགས་པ
 Sog སོག
 Sog rdzong སོག་རྫོང
 Sog rgya སོག་རྒྱ
sog yul སོག་ཡུལ
 Song Ying 宋颖
song སོང

Songchang Suzhun (Sizhun?) 耸昌厮均
 Songduo 松多
 Songjia 宋家
 Songpan 松潘
 Songrang, Xunrang 逊让
 Spun zla hor gyi rgyal po སུཅ་ཟླ་ཧོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
 spyi 'jog སྤྱི་འཛོག་
 spyi rdzas སྤྱི་རྩམ་
 srang སྲང་
 srol སྟོལ་
 Strong btsan sgam po སྟོང་བཙན་སྐམ་པོ་
 srung ma སྲུང་མ་
 Stag gzig nor gyi rgyal po སྟག་གཟིག་ནོར་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་
 Stag lha rgyal སྟག་ལྷ་རྒྱལ་
 Stobs ldan སྟོབས་ལྷན་
 Su Shan 苏珊
 Sughuangghuali, Suobugou 索卜沟
 suitou 岁头
 Suiyuan 綏遠
 Sum pa སུམ་པ་
 Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor
 སུམ་པ་མཁན་པོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་དཔལ་འབྱོར་
 Sun Wukong 孙悟空
 Sunbu, Songbu 松布
 Suojie Longwang 锁脚龙王
 Suojie Ye 锁脚爷
 Suonan 索南
 Suonan Cuo 索南措
 Suzhou 苏州
 Suzhou Xinzhi 苏州新志
 tA si ཏཱ་སི་
 Ta'er si 塔尔寺
 Taishan 泰山
 Taizi 台子
 Tang Xiaoqing 汤晓青
 Táng, Tang 唐
 tangka 唐卡, thang ka ཐང་ཀ་

Tangraa, Tangla 塘拉
 Tangseng 唐僧
 thal 'phen ཐལ་འཕེན་
 thal 'phreng ཐལ་འཕྲེང་
 thal srog ཐལ་སྟོག་
 thal zlog ཐལ་ཟློག་
 thang ka ཐང་ཀ་
 theb ཐེབ་
 Ther gang nyi wi ཐེར་གང་ཉི་མི་
 ther gang nyi wi na thong ཐེར་གང་ཉི་མི་ན་ཐོང་
 Thu me lun ཐུ་མེ་ལུན་
 Thu'u bkwan ཐུ་འུ་བཀྱན་
 Thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma
 ཐུ་འུ་བཀྱན་བློ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཉི་མ་
 thun mong ma yin pa ཐུན་མོང་མ་ཡིན་པ་
 thun mong pa ཐུན་མོང་པ་
 Tianjia 田家
 Tianjin 天津
 tianqi 天旗
 Tiantang 天堂
 Tianyoude 天佑德
 Tiānzhù, Tianzhu 天助
 To'u pa tsi ཏཱ་པ་ཙི་
 Tongren 同仁
 tongzi 筒子
 tsakra bcu gsum gyi sngags blzog
 ཙན་པ་རུ་གསུམ་གྱི་སྟགས་བལ་ཐོག་
 tsampa, rtsam pa ཙམ་པ་
 tsha bzhed ཙམ་བཞེད་
 tsha gad ཙམ་གད་
 tsha gra ཙམ་ག་
 Tsha lu ma byin gi song ཙམ་ལུ་མ་བྱིན་གི་སོང་
 Tsha lu ma ster gi song ཙམ་ལུ་མ་སྟེར་གི་སོང་
 tsha ri ཙམ་རི་
 tsha ཙམ་
 tsha rting ཙམ་རྟིང་
 tshab grwa ཙམ་གྲལ་

tshad ma sde bdun ཚད་མ་སྡེ་བདུན
tshang ཚང
 Tshe hrin yan ཚེ་རིན་ཡན
 Tshe ring ཚེ་རིང་
 Tshe ring don 'grub ཚེ་རིང་དོན་འགྲུབ
 Tshe ring skyid ཚེ་རིང་སྒྲིད་
tshi me ཚེ་མེ
tshig nyen ཚེག་ཉེན་
tshig sgra rgyas pa ཚེག་སྒྲུག་པ་
tsho ba ཚོ་བ་
 Tsho ཚོ
 Tsho kha ཚོ་ཁ་
tshogs ཚོགས་
tshogs lang ཚོགས་ལང་
tshogs langs lugs bzhin ཚོགས་ལངས་ལུགས་བཞིན་
 Tshwa mtsho ཚྭ་མཚོ་
 Tsi tsong ཅི་ཙོང་
 Tso ri ri lang ཅོ་རི་རི་ལང་
 Tso shi ri lang ཅོ་ཤི་རི་ལང་
 Tsong kha ཅོང་ཁ་
 Tsong kha pa ཅོང་ཁ་པ།, Zongkaba ཅོང་ཁ་པ་
tszurhaitchi цзурхайчи
 Tǔ, Tu 土
 Tǔdá 土达
 Tǔfān, Tufan 吐蕃
 Tughuan, Tuguan 土官
 Tughuan Nengneng, Tuguan Niangniang 土官
 娘娘
 Tughuangang, Tuguanshan 土官山
 Tǔhún 吐浑
 Tuìhún 退浑
 Tǔmín, Tumin 土民
 Tuoba Yuanhao 拓跋元昊
 Tǔrén, Turen 土人
tǔsī, tusi 土司
 Tutai 土台 (Sujia 苏家?)
 Tǔyùhún, Tuyuhun 吐谷浑

Tǔzú, Tuzu 土族
 Tuzuyu 土族语
 Walighuan (Bagushan 巴古山)
 Wang, wang 王
 Wang chen khri བང་ཆེན་ཁྲི
 Wang Dongmeihua 王冬梅花
 Wang skyA བང་སྐལ་
 Wang Tusi 汪土司
 Wang Wenyan 王文艳
 Wang Yanzhang 王彦章
 Wang Yongqing 王永庆
 Wáng Yúnfēng 王云凤
 Wangjia 王家
 Wànlì 万历
 Wanzi 湾子
 Wǎqúsìlǐ 瓦渠四里
 Weisheng jihuashengyuju 卫生计生生育局
 Wēiyuǎn, Weiyuan 威远
 Wen Xiangcheng 文祥呈
 Wen Xiping 文喜萍
 Wenbu 温逋
 Wencheng Gongzhu 文成公主
 Wenjia 文家
 Wentan Liaowang 文坛瞭望
 Wu Jiexun 吴解勋
 Wu Lanyou 吴兰友
 Wughuang, Bahong 巴洪
 Wujia 吴家
 Wulan 乌兰
 Wushi 五十
 Wushi 梧释
 Wushi xiang 五十乡
 Wutun 吾屯
 Wutun 五屯
 Wuyangbu 威远堡
 Wuyue Dangwu 五月端午
 Wuyue Duanwu 五月端午

Xanjang, *xanjang*, Shancheng, *shancheng* 山城
 Xi'an 西安
 Xia 夏
 Xia Guo 夏国
 Xiahe 夏河
 Xiakou 峡口
 Xianbei 鲜卑
Xianrenmin weishengyuan 县人民医院
Xianrenmin yiyuan 县人民医院
 Xiaosi 小寺
 Xibu dakaifa 西部大开发
 Xie 谢
 Xie Yongshouhua 谢永寿花
 Xiejia 谢家
 Xiela 协拉
 Xiera, Xiela 协拉
 Xifan 西番
 Xikouwai 西口外
 Xin 辛
 Xin Youfang 辛有芳
 Xing Haiyan 邢海燕
 Xing Quancheng 星全成
 Xing Yonggui 邢永贵
 Xing'er 杏儿
xingfu 幸福
 Xīníng, Xining 西宁, 西寧
 Xining Zhi 西宁志
 Xinjia 辛家
 Xinxia 辛峡
 Xiu Lianhua 绣莲花
 Xiwanzi 西灣子
 Xiyingzi 西营子
 Xu Xiufu 徐秀福
 Xuangwa, Beizhuang 北庄
 Xuanhua 宣化
 Xuanzang 玄奘
 Xuānzōng 宣宗

Xue Wenhua 薛文华
 Xunhua 循化
 Yá'ér 崖尔
 Yan Guoliang 闫国良
 Yáng 杨
 Yang Chun 杨春
 Yang lji tsho ba ཡར་ལྷི་ཙོ་བ་
 Yang Xia 杨霞
 Yangda, Changshoufo 长寿佛
 Yangja, Yangjia 杨家
 Yangjia 杨家
 Yangtou Huhua 羊头护化
 Yangzi, Changjiang 长江
 Yar klung tsang po ཡར་ཁུང་ཙང་པོ་
 Yar sko tsho ba ཡར་སྐོ་ཙོ་བ་
 Yar sko ཡར་སྐོ་
 Ye su khe ཡེ་སུ་ཁེ་
 Yí 夷
 Yi Lang 衣郎
yig cha gsar ba ཡིག་ཇ་གསར་བ་
yig rgyugs ཡིག་རྒྱུགས་
 Yigongcheng 移公城
 Ying Zhongyu 应忠瑜
 Ying Zihua 英子花
 Yīngzōng 英宗
yinyang 阴阳
 Yomajaa, Yaomajia 姚麻家
 Yon tan 'od ཡོན་ཏན་འོད་
 Yon tan rgya mtsho ཡོན་ཏན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་
 Yǒngchàng 永昌
 Yǒngdèng 永登
 Yǒnglè, Yongle 永乐, 永樂
 Yongning 永宁
 Yongzheng 雍正
 Yòuníng 佑宁
 Youning si 佑寧寺
 Yuan, *yuan* 元

yue 月
Yul shul ཡུལ་སྐུལ་
yul srol ཡུལ་སྐྱོལ་
Yun ci dmag ཡུན་ཅི་དམག་
Zan Yulan 簪玉兰
Zanza 簪扎
zao 枣
zaoren 枣仁
Zeku 泽库
Zelin 泽林
zha ngo ཇཱ་ངོ་
zhal ngo ཇཱ་ལ་ངོ་
Zhalute 扎鲁特
Zhang blon bzhi ཇཱ་ལྷོན་བཞི་
Zhang Chongsunhua 张重孙花
Zhāng Dézǔ 张得祖
Zhang Xiang 张翔
Zhang Xihua 张喜花
Zhang Yinghua 张英花
Zhang Yongjun 张永俊
Zhangjiakou 张家口
Zhao Guilan 赵桂兰
Zhao Jinzihua 赵金子花
Zhao Xiuhua 赵秀花
Zhao Xiulan 赵秀兰
Zhao Yongxiang 赵永祥
Zhaomuchuan 赵木川
Zhejiang 浙江
zhihui qianshi 指挥僉事

Zhili 直隶
Zhong Jingwen 钟进文
Zhong Shumi, Zhang Shumei 张淑梅
zhongdouju 种痘局
Zhu Bajie 猪八戒
Zhu Changminghua 朱长命花
Zhu Chunhua 朱春花
zhu dar ཇཱ་དར་
Zhu Ernuer, Ernü 朱二女
Zhu Guobao 朱国宝
Zhu Haishan 朱海山
Zhu Jinxiu 朱金秀
Zhu Xiangfeng 朱向峰
Zhu Yongzhong 朱永忠
Zhuang Xueben 庄学本
Zhuānglàng 庄浪
Zhujia 朱家
Zhuoni 卓尼
Zi ling ཇི་ལིང་
zla ba dang po'i drug ba gnyis kyi nyin gsum
gyi ring la ཇཱ་བ་དང་པའི་དུག་བ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཉིན་གསུམ་
 ཇཱ་རིང་ལ་
zla po byed ཇཱ་པོ་བྱེད་
Zo wi ne ni ཇོ་ཡི་ནེ་ནི་
Zongge 宗哥
Zonggecheng 宗哥城
zongjia 天子
zur skol ཇུར་སྐོལ་
Zushi 祖師